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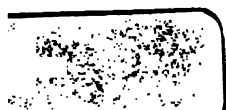
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# THE AGE:

BEING

A LETTER TO A SOCIETY FOR THE IMPROVE-  
MENT OF *Sacred Architecture*, ON THE  
OBJECT, PRINCIPLES, AND PRACTICE OF THAT  
DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE;

WITH

MORAL, RELIGIOUS, AND POLITICAL RE-  
FLECTIONS, ARISING OUT OF THE SUBJECT. AND  
SUGGESTED BY THE PECULIAR CIRCUM-  
STANCES OF THE TIMES.

BY A LAYMAN.

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1850.



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## P R E F A C E.

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THE design of the author in writing the following Letter, was to caution the members of those Societies which have been so laudably instituted by men of taste and piety for the purpose of rescuing many of our parish churches from their present disgraceful state of dilapidation and deformity, against falling into an error, which the peculiar nature of their enquiries is apt to lead them into ;—he means, converting them into antiquarian rather than architectural societies, and attaching more importance to antiquarian relics than to the beauty and majesty of the buildings that contain them. This appears to be an error, even if the subject is viewed merely as a science, and to be dealt with simply on the principles of taste. But when we consider that most of these relics were connected with



ancient superstition, that they contain in themselves neither use nor beauty, and that they tend to engender a veneration for that which ought to be altogether banished from our sympathies, they are not merely neutral in their influences, but positively detrimental.

The necessity of adhering to great principles, even in architecture, has led the author to remark upon the much greater necessity of adhering to them in every department of *moral* science, particularly in religion and politics. And this has been the cause of his blending together in the same work subjects which have no natural connection, and which he had no intention of combining when he began the letter. The superior importance of the latter subject has led him to dwell much more at large upon that than upon the subject of his original design. And as it cannot be doubted by any reflecting mind that this country is a marked instrument in the hands of the Almighty for carrying out the scheme of the world's Redemption,—“a chosen vessel to bear the name of Christ before the Gentiles,” Acts ix. 15, (no empire in the world being equally calculated for *diffusion* with our own,) it is of the

highest importance that the principles on which this country is governed, both social and political, should be of a christian character ; and this has led the author to discuss the subject of politics more freely than he would otherwise have done.

Though these remarks would have appeared more appropriate a year ago, when rebellion was rampant in so many states of Europe, the principles remain unaltered. And though the actual insurrections have been put down either by success or failure, the spirit of them is not extinct, but merely dormant. When the love of power has once been engendered in those for whom it was never designed, it is doubtful whether it ever subsides. The preference of secular to religious knowledge is undermining the moral constitution of man, and fostering instead of controlling his natural corruption. Philosophy is no substitute for religion ; (Coloss. ii. 8,) and it is not the sober deduction of wisdom, but the licentiousness of a froward and unbridled intellect, that rejects the discipline of salutary government.

Anxious as he has been to avoid all personali-

ties, the author cannot hope that his work will give offence to no one. He can only declare that standing, as he has reason from his age to believe, on the threshold of eternity, he has no private or personal motive for anything that he has said : and that if his remarks are tested by the only authority that he wishes to appeal to, namely the Bible, he thinks that he must stand acquitted in the judgment of all impartial men.

If we could see into the secret counsels of the Almighty, and could discern the principles on which He governs the destinies of nations, we should probably find that the "*Quærenda pecunia primum, Virtus post nummos,*" (to which we appear to be fast approaching, and shall continue to approach as the agricultural habits and character become absorbed in the commercial,) has been the secret cause of the decline of all the nations that have been conspicuous in the world's history. Rome, Babylon, Memphis, Nineveh, have probably all owed their downfall to this unheeded principle. And it is remarkable that at the time that Horace expressed the sentiment I have quoted, Rome had just attained the acmé of its prosperity, and was turning the summit in its

downward course. It neglected the manly and virtuous pursuits of agriculture, (which was the employment expressly given to man by the Almighty, Gen. ii. 15,) devoted itself to subjects of taste and luxury, and feasted on the contributions of conquered nations. If we were blessed with such an insight, we should probably see that God deals with nations and with individuals exactly alike ; and that He applies to them both, in the course of his providential government, the same principles of retributive justice. What is sinful in an individual is sinful in a nation. And although the Divine judgments may be for a while suspended for the sake of the fifty, forty, or twenty righteous persons that are in it, (Gen. xviii.,) they will assuredly fall upon it when the "merciful men are taken away from the evil to come," (Isaiah. lvii. 1,) and the nation has filled up the measure of its iniquities."

The object of these pages, taken collectively, is to show the necessity of acting upon great principles in every thing ; that order is the law of God's universal government, both moral and physical ; and that the principles on which He requires us to act in all things, whether

moral, social, political, or religious, neither are,  
nor ever can be, any other than those which  
He himself has given us in his own blessed  
BIBLE.

## E R R A T A.

Page 20, line 17, *for two, read too.*

38, — 15, *for of others; “γνωθαι σεαυτον,” &c., read of others.—“Γνωθαι σεαυτον,” &c.*

59, — 19, *for Eccles, read Ecclus.*

75, — 10, *for 1 John iii. 13, read 1 John iii. 18.*

78, — 19, *for moral, read moral force.*

88, — 18, *for engross, read absorb.*

121. — 14, *for 1 Cor. xiii. 11, read 2 Cor. xiii. 11.*

124, — 9, *for it is schism in the nation, read it is a schism in the nation.*

164, — 2, *for Matt. v. 19, 20, read Matt. vii. 15.*

166, — 16, *for Isai. lxix. 53, read Isai. xlix. 23.*

185, — 4, *for Rev. vi. 3, read Rev. iv. 3.*

192, — 8, *for secoed, read second.*

ral character and conduct in life; the excellence of their principles, the suavity of their manners, and the grace they cast

over those circles of society in which they move. And I could almost say of them, what Cicero said of Plato, "*Cum quo magis errare velim, quam cum aliis rectè sentire.*" And I am the more desirous of making this declaration at the outset, because I fear that some of the remarks which I shall have occasion to make, may savour somewhat of animadversion upon a part of their proceedings. But I sincerely hope, and earnestly entreat, that no individual will take to himself anything that I may say in discussing the general subject; as it is absolutely necessary that in so doing, I should overlook all individual feelings, persons, characters, and opinions, and confine my remarks entirely to the general subject itself.

It appears to me that there are two fundamental elements which ought principally, if not exclusively, (I think I might say exclusively,) to characterise our sacred

architecture. These are the principles of the sublime and beautiful. These principles are seldom found in conjunction, either in art or nature. In the works of art indeed, there is not a single instance of their entire amalgamation, and I know but of one even in nature itself, in which this amalgamation is complete. There may be other things in nature which are sublime in one part and beautiful in another: such, for instance, as a Swiss landscape, in which the mountains are sublime, and the valleys beautiful; but none, I believe, in which at the same time that the whole is sublime every part is beautiful. There is, however, one exception to this, which is, that glorious phenomenon—the rainbow: which at the same time that it is sublime in its aggregate, is beautiful, equally and exquisitely beautiful, in all its parts; constituting thereby a complete amalgamation of the sublime and beautiful. But when



we consider what it is of which this glorious symbol is the type and emblem,—that it is an emblem of the Divine mercy,—the most beautiful and glorious attribute of Deity to fallen man, it ought to fill the mind of every beholder with feelings of intense awe, gratitude, and love, as often as he casts his eyes or his thoughts upon it.

Had this bow existed, as it clearly might have done, without its colours, though it might have been a fit emblem of the Divine power and majesty, it would not have been an emblem of the Divine mercy. It might have awakened feelings of terror in the beholders, but not those of gratitude and love. It is the addition of beauty to this grand phenomenon which has softened down its terrific aspect, and converted the terror it was calculated to inspire into feelings of sacred awe mingled with those of love and gratitude. What is it then

that has added this attribute of beauty to this majestic symbol, making it thereby a perfect amalgamation of the sublime and beautiful? The scripture informs us, that “Out of *Sion* hath God appeared in perfect beauty.” Oh! it was the transaction on Mount Calvary that threw into the bow the prismatic colours, making it the most glorious spectacle that the eye of man can behold in this our lower world. And although this union existed before that transaction actually took place in its physical reality, it was not before it existed in the will and purposes of the Almighty; to whom present, past, and future, are all one, and in whose sight the future is as certain as either the present or the past. And it is remarkable (and I cannot believe that the coincidence is accidental, for I am one of those who do not believe that there is any such thing as accident at all) that those works of human art which ex-

hibit the most perfect combination of the sublime and beautiful, are actually connected with the same subject, point to the same object, and look to the same results. These are our ancient cathedrals; which are the finest specimens of the sublime and beautiful that human art has ever devised; and they are, as far as mere outward appearance goes, the grandest homage that the piety of man can pay to his adorable Creator.

Whilst, therefore, the members of this and other kindred societies employ themselves in surveying with minute accuracy the forms, proportions, and symmetry of doors, and windows, and arches, and cornices, and all the ornamental parts of architecture, they are acting in their own proper sphere; they are doing that which is honourable to themselves, and beneficial to the cause which they have undertaken. And no man can wish more sincerely than

I do, that the fullest success may attend their investigations, so long as they are confined to these appropriate objects. But as for their sedilia, their piscinæ, their stools, their credences, and all such trumpery as that, they are but the relics of ancient barbarism ; and serve only to perpetuate the memory, if not the love, of the superstitions of a semi-barbarous age. They are derogatory to the high subject with which they are connected. And so far are they from awakening feelings of devotion in those who behold them, that they rather incline us to sigh for the infirmities of human nature, particularly when found in conjunction with so much excellence. The preservation of things connected with ancient superstitions, which serve neither for use nor ornament, but are merely memorials of past extravagances, are called by a celebrated writer on the subject, “ dry conservatism ;”

—not that conservatism which would preserve the harmony of the social fabric by giving to each part its due proportions ; but the conservatism of that which was disgraceful in its origin, and is injurious in its continuance, and cannot be too soon exploded from the chaste and simple majesty of our sacred edifices. As our religion was expurgated at the Reformation from the superstitious corruptions of an odious usurpation, our churches should undergo a similar purgation, that the inner and the outer man may be both alike, and no vestige should remain of that odious tyranny which enslaved the minds of men, and deprived them of the liberty with which Christ has made them free. As the course of the thoughts is easily diverted in public worship, even by a glance, from its appropriate object, no memorials of ancient superstition should be allowed to impede the soul's aspirations to the throne

of mercy. They should be free, and uncontaminated by any spurious admixture, borne on the wings of penitence and prayer to the arms of Love extended to receive them. If these superstitions were disgraceful to the age that invented them, they are much more disgraceful to the age that perpetuates them, when a purer religion irradiates the hearts of men, and the beams of the Sun of Righteousness shed a milder lustre on the emancipated conscience. These memorials may be well enough in their proper places,—in our books and on our shelves,—as illustrations of the human mind, and portions of the history of man : and as it cannot be denied that age gives weight to testimony, they may have some bearing upon the evidences of our religion. But even in our records they should not be dwelt upon in terms of admiration which may appear to sanction the adoption of them in our churches.

The sooner we get rid of the great apostasy, which is the principal theme of the prophetic denunciations, the better. Though "its deadly wound appears to be healing," its days are still numbered: and though it is in our power to aggravate its evils, we cannot prevent its final destruction.

Let us, then, get rid of all this rubbish, and assert the dignity of our sacred architecture, by reducing it to its proper constituent elements,—the principles of the sublime and beautiful. And let us not become the servile imitators of those who have gone before us. We know who has said, (and he was no mean judge of human nature,) "O imitatores, servum pecus!" And although no man is more ready than I am to admit the wisdom of learning from the experience of those who have gone before us; though no man is less an advocate than I am for frivolous and ca-

precious innovations ; nevertheless, I would assert the freedom and independence of our own minds, as those have done who have gone before us. And I would adopt from the productions of our ancestors only that which is in itself noble, and worthy of imitation ; rejecting at the same time with a manly boldness everything which is of an opposite character. And let us not set up as standards of perfection the productions of any former age. Perfection belongs not to man, nor to the works of man, and there is no standard of perfection in any of the productions of human genius. Indeed, I know but one that we possess at all : which is the Word of God contained in the sacred volume. That is, indeed, a standard of truth and of perfection, which human genius can never reach, and to which it can never approximate. But it is not the work of man, it is the gift of God. And although in communi-



cating this gift to men, the Almighty has made use of human instruments, it is as clearly written by the finger of God, as was the inscription on the two tables of stone delivered to Moses. Philosophers have wearied themselves in vain in searching for a general standard of weights and measures; and statesmen have been equally foiled in seeking a standard of value in monetary science. We have no standard of perfection but what the Almighty himself has given us, and it would be idle and vain, if not presumptuous, to seek for one in any other quarter.

If, therefore, there is any truth in the suggestions which I have taken the liberty of making, I hope that the members of this Society will give to them due consideration; that they will discard all puerilities which may disgrace their system, or tarnish the lustre of their honourable undertaking, and endeavour, in their future

investigations, to uphold the honour, the dignity, the sublimity, and the beauty of our sacred architecture.

There was one subject discussed at our last meeting, (I must say with great ability, tact, and delicacy,) which cannot be classed in the category of absurdities. I mean the subject of painted windows. And, however equivocal the character of that department of science may appear to some, whatever may have been the character of the age that invented it, or of the subsequent ages which have carried it out to a higher perfection, it is in itself eminently beautiful; and as long as the inquiries on this subject are conducted on its own inherent principles, and not on the principles of authority and precedent, they are a most appropriate adjunct to the more massy features of our sacred edifices. And so far are they from containing anything frivolous or puerile, that they are

eminently calculated to give a devotional character to the buildings in which they are found, and to awaken devotional feelings in the minds of those who behold them.

I cannot forbear to repeat an observation which was made at the only meeting of this Society which I ever before attended, by our highly esteemed, but now far-distant friend, the Bishop of Adelaide. It was, that architecture ought to be made the handmaid of religion, and not religion the handmaid of architecture. I was forcibly struck with that observation; and it involves a principle which cannot be too constantly borne in mind by every Society like the present. Indeed it would be a painful consideration that the noble subject of sacred architecture should be only a department of archæological science; which is calculated rather to gratify the curiosity of the antiquary, than to excite

feelings of exalted piety in the devout Christian. And, indeed, I could have wished (and I have no doubt that we could all have wished), had it been possible, that religion had had an order of architecture exclusively its own; and that it were even prohibited by law to apply it to any other purpose. But this is a consummation, which, however devoutly to be wished, cannot be hoped for. The temper of the times would not suffer us to do this honour even to religion itself. We must be content to work on without it. But I do hope that if there is any truth in these observations, the Society will do all it can to sustain the dignity of our sacred architecture, by reducing it to its proper constituent elements, the principles of the sublime and beautiful.

But I have a particular reason for making these observations now, rather than at a later period. A new church is likely

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soon (I hope very soon) to be erected in this town in which our meetings are held; and I learn from the report that this Society has been consulted, (as it was natural to suppose it would be,) as to the form and structure of it. But I do hope that before it gives in its final recommendations, the Society will revise its system, and divest it of its sectarian aspect, and of the appearance which it bears (whether truly or not I cannot say) of being the organ of a party; which always tends to separate man from man, and to loosen the ties that bind society together: that they will place it upon a broader basis, and give to it a more liberal and expansive character, and discard all those unhandsome adherences which give offence to so many sincere churchmen, and prevent them from contributing to it that support and encouragement which they would otherwise have been inclined to

give to it. And surely these antiquarian researches on a subject so sacred, so solemn, so simple, and so grand, as that which is the professed object of this Society, savour more of the "knowledge that puffeth up" than of the "charity which edifieth." And I do hope that the Society thus expurgated, so far from containing any element of discord, or anything of a repulsive nature, may be made an instrument for uniting us together, even in this world, in the bonds of harmony, peace, and love; which sympathy, and identity of purpose, and a community of opinion and feeling never fail to produce, and which we hope and believe will be the characteristics of our future existence; in a place where the love of God is the cement that holds together all individual affections, and where the whole society forms one spiritual temple, a temple of everlasting felicity and glory.

But, to return to the subject of the earthly temple which I hope will soon be added to the sacred edifices of this place, I do sincerely hope, and earnestly intreat all those who possess wealth, or station, or power, or influence, in the town, the neighbourhood, or even in the county, to exert themselves in earnest for the accomplishment of this work, which the circumstances of the place and of the times in which we live so imperatively demand; and that they will not suffer the disgrace any longer to rest upon us, of leaving a large portion of God's heritage to perish for lack of knowledge, when they themselves possess in so ample a measure the means of preventing it. And I hope that the day will come, (and I confess that I am one of those who believe, in conjunction with many eminent men who are elaborately investigating the subject, that that day is not far distant,) when these

earthly edifices, splendid as they are, will be no longer necessary, and when "all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," (and none can so love Him but those who obey Him,) will leave behind these tenements of clay, and become the tenants of a "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

I cannot quit this subject without anticipating a reply, which I have no doubt many will make to these observations; which is, that they do not venerate the superstitions of the middle ages, but their exalted piety and splendid genius. I cannot help thinking that we are much in error on both these points. The recorded piety of obscure and distant ages is far too scanty to afford a specimen of the general manners; and the passing meteors of a twilight age can never neutralize the grosser elements of which the general character is composed. War, religion, and



love, were bound together under the imposing name of chivalry, and this incongruous mixture formed the most prominent feature of those anomalous ages. The mock heroic was their great ambition, and has exalted into demi-gods many whom the sober justice of an enlightened age would have consigned to the gibbet or the convict ship. Before the invention of printing, and long after, (which was the most flourishing era of Gothic architecture,) when Bibles were scarce, and Prayer-books scarcer still, the church (I mean the building) was the only school of theology and devotion. The mass of the community possessed neither the one nor the other; and they knew too little of both to catch the spirit or extract the precepts of the one, or to supply themselves with forms for private devotion from the other. The devotion of those days was necessarily of a more public and ostentatious character;

performed rather in the scarlet of observation than in the modest garb of the secret chamber; into which our Saviour enjoins us to enter, and to shut our door, and to pray to our Father in secret. It is the devotion of the closet that brings the soul into the closest union with the Almighty, and enables it to unfold to Him its moral maladies, and to ask of Him its appropriate remedies. There is much piety existing in this age, and has been in many preceding ages, in conjunction with the ordinary manners and conventional usages of society, unnoticed, if not even unsuspected, by all around it.

“ Full many a gem of purest ray serene  
 The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear ;  
 Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,  
 And waste its sweetness in the desert air.”

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“ The calm retreat, the silent shade,  
 With prayer and praise agree,  
 And seem by thy sweet bounty made  
 For those who follow Thee.

There, if Thy Spirit touch the soul,  
And grace her mean abode,  
Oh, with what peace, and joy, and love,  
She communes with her God !

There, like the nightingale, she pours  
Her solitary lays,  
Nor seeks a witness to her song,  
Nor thirsts for human praise."

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The too frequent repetition of liturgical forms, however perfect, particularly in public, is wearisome to nature. It is apt to degenerate into formality and verbalism, and to destroy that love of God, which is the very soul of all religion. Love is the ennobling principle of existence. The Scripture assures us that God himself is Love, and the whole universe is but a development of the principle of love in the varied forms of creation. The Divine image is the highest perfection and felicity that a creature can possess or enjoy ; and the attainment of it ought to be his prin-

cipal object, through life, and in death, in time and in eternity. Though the fear of the Lord is the *beginning* of wisdom, the love of Him is the end of it, and I hope the progress. "Perfect love casteth out fear" altogether, and even that which is imperfect abates its terror, and melts it down by degrees into feelings of sacred awe, combined with those of gratitude and love. God forbid that I should rob the Almighty (from whom I have received such unparalleled mercies) of any homage that man may be inclined to pay to Him. But it appears to me that in villages and places where only two or three attend besides the minister, these daily services tend rather to show the nakedness of the land, than to exhibit the rich clusters of its deep fertility; and the unheeded sound of "the church-going bell" is apt to create an indifference to the subject even on the day appointed by the Al-

mighty himself for public worship. In large towns, where there are many unemployed persons, generally in the decline of life, this public homage ought to be frequently performed. The stately building, with its rich-toned bell, keeps up a feeling of sacred awe even in those who are too busy to attend its services. And in colleges, and other places exclusively devoted to the education of youth, it seems quite proper that the day should begin and end with public worship. And it would be a shame if the daily sacrifice were wanting in our grand cathedrals. But in small places where the attendance is always scanty, I think these services rather tend to defeat their object than to promote it. If many conscientious clergymen feel themselves bound by the rubrics to perform these services, it may be some relief to them to consider that when these rubrics were introduced, books were still

scarce, and the Church was nearly the only school of theology and devotion. But since the press and the steam-engine have brought the church home to every man's door, and even to his private chamber, these services are the less necessary. And since the convocation has lost its legislative function, and cannot alter the rubrics to meet the altered circumstances of the times, the performance of these services may be safely left to the discretion of each individual clergyman ; particularly as the authorities of the Church appear to sanction by their silence the exercise of that discretion. The multiplication of books has in a great measure substituted the family for the public altar, and the cheapness of them leaves no excuse on the ground of inability. The Bible Society, through its numerous auxiliaries, sells Bibles, throughout the land, new, creditably bound, and legibly printed, for sevenpence.

Prayer-books, no doubt, may be had nearly as cheap. And the family altar has one advantage over the public one: that without infringement of the general habits of society, the morning and evening worship may be performed, as it was clearly intended to be, at the beginning and end of every day; and such prayers, and readings, may be selected as are most appropriate to domestic devotion. I will take the liberty of recommending to persons who are scrupulous on this subject a pamphlet written a few years ago by the Rev. Edward Scobell, Minister of St. Peter's in Vere Street, called "A few Thoughts on Church Subjects," (an able work with a very modest title,) in which he endeavours to shew, and I think successfully, that it is better, in these altered and enlightened days, to preserve the spirit of the rubrics than the letter of them; as, indeed, it is in every other thing. It was in speaking

on a subject like the present that St. Paul said, "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life;" and he actually called ordinances appointed by the Almighty himself "beggarly elements," after the object of them had been accomplished. When the Christian superstructure was erected on the Jewish foundation, the latter was covered in, as all foundations are. The development of the anti-type superseded its typical precursor. "He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second." The dissenters in large towns have generally two week-day services; but even these differ much from each other, the one being called a lecture, and the other a general service; and even the latter, being always extemporaneous, is never twice alike. All things in this world are in a perpetual state of fluctuation. There is nothing stationary. Even the laws of the Medes and Persians have changed. And



to suppose that forms and ceremonies designed for other times and other circumstances should be permanent, when all other things are in a state of fluctuation, seems to imply a narrowness of view, and an ignorance of the moral constitution and social condition of man. This is, I confess, delicate ground ; and I would rather throw out these suggestions for the consideration of others, than pronounce any decided judgment on them myself.

With regard to the superior genius of the middle ages, I think we are much in error on this point also. The circumstances which led to the erection of those splendid monuments were rather political and geographical than moral or intellectual. The prevalence of the feudal system occasioned vast accumulations of property in the hands of single individuals, particularly of sovereigns ; and the Church exercised an almost unlimited control over the wealth

of every nation within its pale. Neither time nor money was wanting to give to genius its full development, and to carry into execution its most elaborate suggestions. Under such circumstances it was not so difficult as it may appear to erect those splendid edifices ; when the tyrant Superstition rode rough-shod over the consciences of men, and the thrones of Europe held the stirrup for the polluted feet of Antichrist. Though the inventions of former ages have forestalled those of the ages that followed them, and narrowed the field of invention and genius to those who succeeded them, they have not limited the field of taste and judgment ; but, on the contrary, have greatly enlarged it, by the ample materials which they have brought into it. In these at least we are, or ought to be, their superiors ; and I cannot believe that the faculty of invention is at all impaired, however the field for its exercise may have been curtailed.

Perhaps some may think that I bear too hard upon our sister Church. She is indeed our sister, but she is a prostitute, (Rev. 17,) and gladly would we recal her to innocence and purity. If she has not actually forsaken her first love, she "plays the harlot with many lovers," (Jer. iii. 1,) paying nearly the same homage to a creature that she pays to the Creator, throwing around her groups of sainted Cupids, and decking out the tablet with meretricious and unhallowed chisellings. In the days of apostolic simplicity, Saint Peter was called plain "Peter." He called himself so, and was called so by his inspired associates. But his successors have called themselves, or have been called by others, "Our Lord God the Pope." Aye, "there be gods many and lords many" in that system of priestly usurpation, which overshadows the simplicity of apostolic usages. Let not these remarks be applied to the excellent

bishops of our own revered Church, among whom have been found many of the humblest and best of Christians. Their titles, (whether right or wrong,) are not of their own choosing, but have been cast upon them : and they cannot exercise the functions of their sacred office without taking the appendages which the law has annexed to them. The moral and practical theology of our sister Church is on a par with her priestly usurpations. She has encouraged by her indulgencies, her absolutions, her evasions, and equivocations, almost every sin that man is prone to ; demoralizing the whole social system for the sake of dominion and "filthy lucre." If this is Christianity, I confess I cannot see it. I want that "development" which I believe is a new element in their system, and never was heard of till a few years past ; or if it ever existed before, it could only have been before the canon of Scripture was com-

pleted, when every addition to it might be called a fresh development. But no such development has ever taken place since that period, nor is ever likely to do, till the final one which will decide our eternal destiny. Oh that we could exterminate this net-work of superstition, and enable its votaries to breathe the air of a free, untrammelled piety! I am happy to say that the Irish Society is making rapid strides in this direction. They have translated the Bible into the Irish language, and are distributing it freely to the benighted peasantry, who receive it thankfully, in spite of the threats and denunciations of their priestly tyrants. The persons who are chiefly employed in this noble work are the calumniated clergy of the Established Church, together with such associates as their convenience may require. And they do not content themselves with merely leaving the Bible at

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the houses where they deliver it, but actually read it themselves to the half-lettered peasantry, accompanied, no doubt, with such devotions as harmonize with the simple piety which they inculcate. We are indebted to them as patriots as well as Chirstian ministers; and they are probably doing more to tranquillize Ireland than any legislative enactments can ever accomplish.

I have heard that it is a principle of some architectural societies, (though not having read their publications I cannot vouch for the truth of it,) when an old church which has been marred and disfigured by unsightly alterations is taken down, to recommend its being rebuilt in exactly the same form and manner, merely as a record of history and antiquity; thus perpetuating its deformities, instead of restoring its pristine beauties, and converting the "house of prayer" into a

monument of antiquarian curiosity. If this be so, it is surely acting on the principle of a person who, in ordering a new coat from some professor of the art in London, should direct him to copy all the patchings and mendings of the village tailor; or of that Chinese copyist, who on receiving an order for a set of porcelain painted according to a pattern on paper which had been blotted and defaced by being folded before it was dry, sent the set "according to order," with all the defacements as correctly copied as the original design. And why should we attach so much importance to mere antiquity? At the great day of judgment, which will decide our eternal destinies, it will not be inquired when or where any man has lived, or any work been performed, but how he has lived, and what he has done. Eternal justice will of course consider all the advantages and disadvantages under which we

have lived, and it will be required of each of us "according to what he hath, and not according to what he hath not." God has assigned a certain period for this world's duration. What will it signify at that awful day in what portion of this speck of eternity any man has lived? In eternity and infinity there are no whens and wheres; and as time will shortly be swallowed up in the former, so may place be equally merged in the latter.

Oh! let us adhere to great principles, and discard everything that is little or irrelevant. These are no times for trifling. The spirit of the age seems inclined to deny the providence, if not the sovereignty of God. New principles must be developed; old ones are worn out. Youth claims to be the instructor of age, and to receive its homage; contrary to the word of God, the order of providence, the lessons of sages, the teaching of apostles,



and the records of all experience. The academical students have for some time past been active promoters of rebellion in the great cities of Europe. The neologists of Germany have found out, that all the miracles recorded in scripture were the results of natural causes; and it is said that the students of her universities have discovered that until a novice has fought a duel or two he is hardly fit to associate with gentlemen. The National Assembly at Berlin, after abolishing all orders of dignity, lately decreed, by a large majority, that kings do not reign by the grace of God; and a proposal was lately made in our own House of Commons to omit the accustomed acknowledgment of Divine providence in some of our parliamentary proceedings. That acknowledgment has actually been omitted on the new coin of the realm, after having been stamped upon it for centuries, as "Holi-

ness to the Lord " was inscribed, by the Divine command, on the high priest's mitre, and "In hôc signo vinces" on the banners of Constantine,—when Christianity was first taken under the protection of government, and without which Paganism would probably not have been put down to this day. And it is doubtful whether the expostulations of a whole nation will be able to induce our rulers to restore to the sabbath its appointed sanctity.

The great feature of the age is a hatred of authority, and a rejection of the principle of subordination, which appears, as far as we have any means of judging, to be the law of the universe. It is recognised in some shape or another in almost every page of the Bible: in its history, its laws, its usages, its precepts, and its parabolical illustrations; probably as being best suited to the moral constitution and social condition of man, and most in

harmony with the principles of the Divine government. The Scriptures speak frequently of the noise of the people, the rage of the people, the fury of the people, and the tumults of the people, but not a word about the sovereignty of the people, the rights of man, or the equality of human conditions. Let it not be inferred from this that I maintain that the people have no rights. Their rights are as sacred as those of the sovereign, or any intermediate order, and ought to be as sacredly maintained. But let them know their place, and the duties belonging to it, and not usurp the functions of others; “*γνωθι σεαυτον*” was never more necessary than at the present day. Eager as we are to pick up every other sort of knowledge, the knowledge of ourselves is the last we look for. We glean from lectures, newspapers, periodicals, and ephemeral treatises, instead of going to the fountain-head

of truth and holiness. It is a mistake to suppose that the Bible was given to us merely to regulate our conduct as individuals, and that the principles of it are not to extend to social and political organizations. God has not given us an imperfect law, to guide us in one thing and deceive or fail us in another. His law is like himself, perfect and holy, and every departure from it tends to desolation. The equality of mankind is a mere chimera; it neither does nor ever has existed, and, in the present moral and social condition of man, never can exist. Perhaps there are not two things or persons in the world exactly equal. The inequality of all things is the most marked feature in creation. It is that "*rerum concordia discors*," which Horace speaks of; and the conflicting interests of social man, in proportion as he departs from the principles of the Bible, are held together by mutual

checks and counterchecks. The pride and selfishness of man is impatient both of control and labour. Want is the main-spring of all exertion. Without it there would be no profitable exertion of any kind, and we should soon die from our own idleness. Providence has ordained for wise purposes that it shall be so in this world, though we look for another, where we shall "hunger no more, neither thirst any more, and the Lamb himself will feed us." When the pride of man abandons the principles of the Bible, and sets up elementary principles of its own, the systems built upon it are always fallacious. This assumption of new and independent principles (such as the equality of mankind and the sovereignty of the people) in the place of those which the Almighty himself has given us, (if not expressly, by analogy and inference,) is a virtual rejection of the Divine authority, and a seces-

sion from the universe of God; of which a sympathy with the Divine mind is the principal feature. It is like persons who are disaffected to the government, refusing to go to court, though they do not actually deny the sovereignty. What this systematic alienation will eventually lead to, it is impossible to foretel: but it seems to be a preparation for, and introduction to, those convulsive throes which will usher in the final catastrophe, —“ On earth distress of nations, men’s hearts failing them for fear, and for looking on the things which are coming on the earth.” If the world has suffered much from tyranny, has it suffered nothing from popular caprice and violence? We look at the former through a glass of high power, and at the latter with the inverted instrument. Liberty, for which we neither are, nor ever can be qualified in this world without restraint, is the philoso-

pher's stone, the panacea for all social evil, and the paradise of speculative legislation. A departure from the principles of kingly government, however numerous its defects may be, almost invariably, sooner or later, leads to revolution; (witness what has lately happened in a neighbouring country;) one form of government supplanting another, till we come to what we hate the most, the establishment of despotic sovereignty. The principle of subordination, which appears, as I have endeavoured to show, to be the law of the universe, was given us by the Almighty for our guidance and governance in this world; and it will sit awkwardly upon us in the next, if we reject it here. The pride and jealousy of authority, which we carry with us, will be continually bursting out amidst our new associates, and we shall neither be fit for them nor they for us. What other place

or society we may be fit for, I presume not to say. It cannot be for that where all is harmony, peace, and love ; and where envy, hatred, and jealousy have no existence.

If any one thinks that he may exercise these feelings in this world where they are wanted, but that he will not do it in the next, he is under a great mistake. When the habit of the mind is formed we cannot change it. “ Where the tree falls there it will lie ; he that is unjust will be unjust still, and he that is holy will be holy still.” Such as we are when we leave the present scene of existence, the same shall we be when we enter upon the next. Whigs on earth will be Whigs in heaven, if that is their destination. Their jealousy of power, in any hands but their own, will give continual disturbance to those around them, and their habitual appeals to the ignorant and the violent will be continually stirring up strife in the abodes of blessed-



ness. That the principles called Conservative, or the principles of a just subordination, are the principles of the Bible, no man acquainted with that book can for a moment doubt. They are the principles of nature, and, as we have reason to believe, of the whole universe. They are salutary both in their moral and political influence, and seem to be designed by Providence for the world's adjustment. There is a hardihood in setting up systems opposed to these, and calling them liberal, as if man was wiser than the Almighty. And we accordingly see in those who adopt them a certain hardness of character, which is seldom found in those who are advocates for subordination and a becoming respect for authority.

Politics is a part of morals. We cannot separate them. The political injunctions of Scripture are exactly the same as the moral ones ; and every man's political cha-

racter is a part of his moral character. Our principles will not change with our abode: the application of them will be changed, but the character of them will remain. He that is jealous will be jealous still, and he that is peaceful will be peaceful still.

The comparison of the social to the natural body is a very just one. Providence has ordained that the head shall be placed at the top, and govern the rest, and that the most honourable and efficient members (the hands and the arms) shall be nearest to it. Even in the planetary system the smaller stars are controlled by the larger ones round which they revolve; and Scripture speaks of different orders of dignity even in the hierarchies of heaven. It is difficult to conceive that the rebellion of Satan was immediately against God himself. Surely neither he nor any creature in existence would dare to contend

against the Almighty hand to hand. His rebellion must have been against some other authority which God had placed above him. He was a rebel and a leveller, but yet a tyrant, as most levellers are. In the language of Milton, he

“ Disdained subjection,  
And thought it better to rule in hell,  
Than serve in heaven.”

This rejection of the principles of the Divine government, and setting up antagonistic principles in the place of them, is enthroning Satan in the heritage of God, and expelling the Almighty from his own dominions.

The political duties of Christians are as clearly defined and as positively enjoined in Scripture as language can express them : and we cannot evade them, either in theory or practice, without rejecting that portion of Christianity, and being, in fact, what-

ever we may profess, but half Christians. They are a part of christian morals, and constitute a large portion of the christian character; and we cannot detach them from it as mere machinery, and instruments of practical convenience. They are as follows: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For *there is no power but of God*: the powers that be *are ordained of God*. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power *resisteth the ordinance of God*: and they that resist *shall receive to themselves damnation*. For *rulers are not a terror to good works*, but to the *evil*. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? *Do that which is good*, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is *the minister of God* to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is *the minister of God*, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.

Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but *for conscience sake*. For this cause pay ye tribute (taxes) also : for they (those who impose, and those who gather them) are *God's ministers*, attending continually for this very thing. Render therefore to all their dues : tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour." (Rom. xiii.) This language is so explicit, and so elaborately detailed, that it is impossible for any ingenuous mind to evade it. No act of parliament could be more definitely expressed : and if we reject it from our political strategy, we shall not be allowed to plead ignorance at the great tribunal. It is clear that the advocates for resistance do not believe this part of Scripture, and that, whatever they may call themselves, to that extent they are infidels. It is no excuse for our resistance to say,

that the compliance demanded of us is unjust. Our Saviour exemplified this by actually working a miracle for the sake of *peace*, to enable him to comply with an unjust demand. (Matt. xvii. 27.) And St. Peter says, that "He left us an example that *we* should follow his steps." (1 Pet. ii.) Instead of stirring up the passions of the people, and encouraging them to overawe the government under pretence of their liberties being in danger, he both enjoined submission to others, and practised it himself, as an element of his doctrine and a characteristic of "his kingdom." And, in order that the characters of governors should not be made a plea for resisting them, he commanded his disciples (and are not all *real* Christians his disciples?) to obey those whom he repeatedly represented as wicked, out of respect to their office; saying, "The scribes and pharisees sit in Moses's seat;

all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works, for they say, and do not. For they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers." (Matt. xxiii. 2.)

None of those who feel themselves at liberty to resist or overawe the government by inflammatory harangues, rebellions, or menacing processions, under pretence of petitioning, can have more to allege against the government than this; and yet such suggestions are made the excuse for those political principles which sanction resistance, more or less qualified, under the names of Whig, Liberal, Radical, or Chartist. They are all members of the same family: all founded upon resistance in some shape or other, direct or indirect; and though that resistance is not

always brought into action, it is like a loaded gun, which is not always fired, but is kept loaded for the purpose of being so whenever it is wanted.

St. Peter is equally explicit in announcing the same doctrine. "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man *for the Lord's sake* : whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of *evil doers*, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that *with well doing* (not by violence, intrigue, or intimidation) ye should put to silence *the ignorance of foolish men* : as free, and *not using your liberty as a cloak of maliciousness*, but as the *servants of God*. Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. *Honour the king.*" (1 Pet. ii. 13.)

Whether the Whig or Tory principles come nearest to these explicit injunctions



of Scripture, it would be an affront to any man's understanding to demonstrate. We may write books on political philosophy, we may concoct theories, and fabricate constitutions ; but if we depart from these principles, we are not only (as Burke says) at war with nature, but with the commands of the Almighty himself. We, in fact, renounce our Christianity. For Christianity is not a thing that can be taken in parts. It admits of no reserves. And St. James expressly says, that "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." (James ii. 10.) And it may be worthy of observation that these injunctions to obedience were given to persons living under heathen governments, which, not being under the control of any religion, were more likely to be abused than any christian authority.

The passage from the Romans affirms

that “*there is no power but of God.*” Another passage in Scripture on the same subject says, “God hath spoken once, and twice I have heard the same, that *power belongeth unto God.*” It is quite clear that the word “power” here means *all* power. Any other construction of it would be ridiculous. Man could have no right to exercise authority over his fellow man, “unless it were given him from above.” (John xix. 11.) These passages imply that all power or authority over others, that is, all human government, is, as far as it goes, a delegation of the Divine prerogative; and it ought, as such, to be entrusted only to the wisest and the best. This is the plan designed by the Almighty in the structure of human society, analogous probably to the plan of his government throughout the universe, and every departure from it is an outrage both upon nature and upon Providence. The

first power given by God to man was the parental; the next the patriarchal; and then, as mankind spread, the regal. It always has proceeded downwards from those above it, and not upwards from those below it. This principle is recognised in a nursery, a school, an army, and in every institution requiring progressive knowledge and matured experience. It derives a sanctity from its origin. And I believe there is no instance in Scripture in which this order is reversed by any authority from the Almighty. The ignorance and corruption of man have made order and discipline necessary to his social existence. And as legislation is the highest function of the human intellect, and by far the greater part of the business of life is mechanical, and requires nearly the whole of a man's time and faculties, investing those designed for the lowest employments with the functions of the

highest, is little short of rebellion against the Divine economy, and unquestionably contrary to the Divine analogies. Our instruments should be appropriate to our work. And, as Jeremy Taylor says, that we ought not to make hay with a sceptre, so neither ought we to rule with a pitchfork.

There never was a time when the maxim "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*" was more requisite than at the present day, when every man seems to think himself qualified for everything: and the lower the elective franchise is extended, the more the delusion is cherished. The maxim is founded in truth and nature, though not to be applied without limitation. It appeared wise to the wisest among the heathen; and the same principle is illustrated by a parable actually made for it in Scripture; where the bramble is said to have accepted the govern-

ment of the trees of the forest, after the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree had declined it from a sense of their incompetency. (Judges ix. 14) Was not the bramble a Whig? God dispenses his natural gifts on the same principle as his spiritual ones. The Scripture says, "The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge, by the same Spirit; to another faith, by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing, by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues. But all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will. For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of

that one body, being many, are (or compose) one body, so also is Christ." (1 Cor. xii. 7.)

The body preserves its strength and aggregate efficiency by each member performing its own office, and not attempting to exercise the functions of another. And God has raised some persons above the rest in the scale of society, giving them leisure, and independence, and opportunities for study, to qualify them for the higher offices of life. If this principle was carried out in the function of legislation, the result would be much more profitable. And, although it is desirable that there should be some practical men in Parliament, who may be able to give information on every important topic, it is impossible that persons who have spent the greatest part of their lives in low employments, and have had little or no time for study, (however fluently they may

talk on a few topics,) can ever possess those comprehensive views which are necessary to form a statesman. The same principle also applies to the elective franchise; which no person can be competent to exercise wisely unless he has some knowledge of the principles of legislation. In former times electors sent their representative to Parliament (generally a neighbour) on the strength of his known character for wisdom and integrity, without prescribing to him any defined policy. But since every voter now claims to be his own legislator, by demanding specific pledges, the extension of the elective franchise to ignorant and ill-educated men is a dangerous and demoralising expedient; contrary to the clear designs of Providence, the principles of common sense, and the moral constitution of man.

I cannot forbear to quote, in confirmation of these sentiments, a passage from

Ecclesiasticus, quoted by Mr. Burke, in his "Remarks on the French Revolution," which is as follows: "'The wisdom of a learned man cometh from opportunity of *leisure*: and he that hath little business shall become wise. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad; that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks? So every carpenter and workmaster that laboureth night and day. They shall not be sought for in public counsel, nor sit high in the congregation: they shall not sit in the judge's seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment: they cannot declare justice and judgment, and they shall not be found where parables are spoken; but they will maintain the state of the world.' (Eccles. xxxviii.)" Mr. Burke goes on to say: "I do not determine whether this book be canonical, as the Gallican Church has (till lately)



considered it, or apochryphal, as here it is taken. I am sure it contains a great deal of truth."

The principle of the sovereignty of the people (as if they possessed but one mind and one interest) is an invasion of the Divine prerogative and the order of nature. It was assumed by the leading Whigs in this country at the time of that great political earthquake, the French Revolution, to serve the purposes of a party, who grudged the expense of a war undertaken for the highest interests of social man, the preservation of the throne and the altar, in the most arduous struggle of anarchy and atheism against order, religion, and discipline, that the world ever witnessed; and has been the chief cause of all the insurrections that have disturbed the peace of society in this country since the commencement of this era. It has engendered the political

sects called Radicals and Chartists, which had no existence before that time: and, although the modern Whigs disown the connexion, they have no right to repudiate their own offspring: an offspring which they are still glad to make use of when out of power, though covertly and without acknowledgment. Putting political power into the hands of the multitude will always secure the ascendancy of the party doing it; who profess to be the exclusive friends of the people, and by this contrivance induce them to believe it, though there is hardly a single act of their legislation that has conferred any real benefit upon them. Breaking up their family comforts, and huddling them together in workhouses, where husbands are separated from wives, and parents from children, instead of leaving to them the family hearth and domestic circle as before, is a boon of so equivocal

a nature, that had it been done by their opponents, they would probably have denominated it cruelty. And the real interests of the labouring classes have been as little promoted by flattering and corrupting them with the elective franchise. This extension of political functions to persons utterly incapable of using them with discretion, may make them convenient tools and instruments of ambition to others, but has a very injurious influence upon the national temperament both in its moral and its political bearing. It deteriorates the character both of the elector and the elected. The former is puffed up with a spurious self-sufficiency by the possession of a function for which he is not qualified, (for, as every tradesman knows, it requires a knowledge of the subject even to appoint an agent,) and the latter descends to arts of flattery and deception unworthy of a gentleman and a Christian.

Thus the high character of the national legislature is deteriorated, and a low and mercenary spirit is introduced into the national councils. And the evil is not confined to the commonalty, but extends to many of the nobility also ; whose power and influence in the state depend much upon their influence in the Lower House. And those among them who look to the people for the support of that influence, are obliged to practise, though in a more covert manner, all the arts and expedients of the low party :—low in their political tactics, low in their sense of moral dignity, (truckling, as they do, to those whom they despise, affecting principles incompatible with their position, and yet retaining all the pride of elevated station,) low in their spiritual affinities ; (which the antagonism of their politics to the whole tenor of the Gospel fully evinces;) and low in their appreciation of nature's symmetry, and of the pur-

poses of the Almighty in the structure of human society :—where the principle of subordination develops the finer sensibilities of the heart, and exercises it in those graces and social virtues which constitute the harmony and the peace of heaven.

If the corruption of human nature makes some popular control necessary to the salutary exercise of power in those who govern, it ought to be only like the safety-valve in the steam-engine, and not the moving power ; having sufficient expansion to prevent appropriation, and sufficient restriction to secure (as far as political arrangements can do) wisdom and virtue in the elected. To carry it lower than this deteriorates the character both of the people and of the legislature, and introduces a mercenary and selfish spirit into the national policy.

I should be sorry to say anything cal-

culated to excite jealousy among nations. But those who are acquainted with the details of American history, particularly the evasions by which they threw upon this country the debt they had engaged to pay to the American loyalists, the annexation of Texas, and the repudiation by several of the states of the claims of the national creditors, will bear me out in these remarks. And I have heard from an authority which I cannot question, that the universality of the elective franchise keeps the nation in such a state of ferment and political hostility, that the most respectable part of the community frequently decline to seek a place in the national legislature. Subordination in our social economy identifies us with the system of the universe. And at the same time that it secures an harmonious co-operation in the various elements of which society is composed, it brings glory to God by its

practical acknowledgment of the principles of Divine wisdom.

Some degree of corruption must be expected under any form of government ; and it is no mark either of superior sagacity or superior virtue to be astute in detecting the errors of governments, or factious and clamorous in denouncing them ; stirring up the passions of the people for every default, and representing the government and its supporters as the people's enemies. I do the party now in power no injustice by saying that that has been their constant propensity and frequent practice, when out of office, for more than half a century, and more particularly during the most arduous struggle that the world ever witnessed for the maintenance of the great principles of society and government in the war of the French revolution. This jealousy is particularly characteristic of the party calling themselves *liberal*. And considering how much the power of the crown,

the hierarchy, and the aristocracy has been reduced, (below the capacity of hurting any one, and scarcely amounting to the power of self-preservation,) it is neither generous, just, nor manly. If the recollection of the evils produced by tyranny in former ages is alleged as an excuse for such precautions against the recurrence of them, the diffusion of knowledge by the press and the steam-engine through every vein of the body politic, together with the reduction of the prerogative to a condition almost nominal, has made that recurrence next to impossible. It is the very lowest of human probabilities. And the apprehension of remote and improbable evils is not the mark either of a manly mind, a generous spirit, or a trust in Providence. I need not repeat that it is unchristian. If the passages I have quoted from Scripture do not prove it to be so, reasoning is altogether useless.



It is natural to the heart of unregenerate man to be jealous of those above him. It arises from the natural selfishness which is common to the whole animal creation. But Christianity teaches us a different lesson; a lesson which its own Divine Author both taught and practised. Almost all the noble institutions in which this country abounds for the relief and improvement of suffering humanity proceed from the accumulation of property in the hands of those whom the people have been taught to consider as useless members of society, living only to oppress others, and to consume the fruits of the earth, particularly the party called *Conservative*. I myself have heard them called "bloodthirsty aristocrats." But if we look at the history of our schools, churches, hospitals, saving-banks, missionary institutions, &c., we shall find that most of them have been instituted, and are

chiefly supported, by the possessors of such accumulations. An income of ten thousand a year in the hands of one man will be able to contribute much more to such institutions than the same income in the hands of ten men, who have ten families to support. And that which excites the jealousy of envious men is the principal cause of the nation's opulence and glory.

I do not wish to make odious comparisons ; but as the people have been taught by those who know its falsehood to consider the party called Conservative as enemies to their happiness and comfort, I feel at liberty to observe that the contributions of that party to these noble objects, (particularly those connected with religion,) have always far exceeded those of the opposite party, who style themselves, without a shadow of justice, the peculiar friends of the people. The Conservatives have generally been, and continue to be,

the originators, and chief supporters of almost every scheme for promoting both the temporal and spiritual welfare of the people at home, and for carrying out the scheme of Christian redemption throughout the world. The Wilderspines, the Bells, the Raikeses, and the Trimmers, the founders of our infant, Sunday, and national schools, have been chiefly patronized by them, and they are by far the greatest contributors to our colonial bishoprics and missionary institutions throughout the world. They have been the greatest promoters of the district visiting societies for the relief and instruction of the poor, and of the division of parishes and the erection of new churches for the benefit of the poorer classes. And the savings-banks, by far the greatest boon ever conferred upon the working classes in modern times, were instituted by a Tory government long before the Reform Bill was thought of. It

was a Tory that brought about the emancipation of the women and children in the mines from a state of servitude disgraceful to a civilized country, and who rescued the children in the factories from the debilitating and demoralizing effects of excessive labour,—both unnoticed by a *Liberal* government,—and is now providing for the education of the neglected children of the metropolis in the ragged schools. What have the self-styled friends of the people to set against these? Their chief work affecting the labouring classes, next to flattering and corrupting them with the elective franchise, for which they were never designed by Providence, on account of their utter incapacity to understand the subject of legislation, was the enactment of the New Poor-Law ; which, as I have already observed, breaks up the little cottage establishment, and huddles all the family together in a workhouse, bearing

no inconsiderable resemblance to a prison, where husbands are separated from wives and parents from children, and those are subjected again to discipline in the decline of life, whose province and whose privilege it has been to exercise discipline over others. Surely the people have reason to exclaim, "Save me from my friends: for besides them, enemies I have none."

If the absence of any appearance of popular violence at this time seems to negative the truth of the preceding remarks, it may be observed that these appeals to the passions of the people are not made when the party is in power. Whigs are Tories when they are in office, and as much friends to peace and order as other men. It is only when they are out of it that their characteristic sympathies with the ignorant, the discontented, and the violent are made to appear; though these constitute at all times their main strength.

But Tories are never Whigs, whether in office or out of it. Friends at all times to order and obedience to the laws.

“ Their loyalty is still the same,  
Whether they lose or win the game ;  
True, like the dial to the sun,  
Although it be not shined upon.”

When such names as Peel, Inglis, Ashley, Ryder, &c., who spend a large portion of their time, health, and fortune in promoting by every means in their power both the temporal and spiritual welfare of the people, are represented to them as their enemies, those who lead the people into such delusions have much to answer for. The former of these, after having nearly worn himself out in the service of his country, and given five thousand pounds out of his own pocket to the ecclesiastical commission for the improvement of our Church establishment, and refused a peerage offered to him by his sovereign because he thought he could

serve his country better in the Lower than in the Upper House, was on the point of being burnt in effigy, not many years ago, in a large town abounding in *Liberals* and Chartists, who had been accustomed to receive a profitable Government contract under his own administration, and I believe were actually doing it at the time, had not the terrified inhabitants sent for the military to protect them. Would the miners in the North burn Lord Ashley in effigy after the services he has done them there? No doubt they would, if the people's *friends* could persuade them that he too was one of the people's enemies.

These honoured names, and many others who act and sympathise with them, are the descendants of those who introduced the saving-banks, and the infant, Sunday, and national schools, who inherit their fathers' principles, and continue their fathers' practices; keeping up the schools

and adding fresh ones, building new churches, and doing all they can to repair the ravages which time has made in the old ones ; and in fact conferring upon the people all the substantial benefits they can—

Walking in the steps their fathers trod

Friends of their king, their country, and their God.

who “love, not in word and in tongue, (as some professors do,) but in deed and in truth,” (1 John iii. 13,) of which they have given sufficient evidence, and are giving more every day. These, and such as these, if we are to believe those who claim to be the people’s *friends*, are the people’s *enemies*.

Almost every age of the world has its characteristic features. If there ever was a time when Whig principles were justifiable as a system, (on which I do not wish to pronounce an opinion, particularly in the face of the passages which I have just quoted from Scripture,) that



time has long passed away. The crown, the hierarchy, and the aristocracy, which have been the chief objects of jealousy in former times, are reduced to an authority little more than nominal. Since the surrender of its hereditary revenues to the public, the crown now receives its income out of the supplies annually granted by parliament, like the lowest paid officer of the State. These supplies it is in the power of parliament to stop at any time; and the party calling themselves *Liberal*, who are always prepared for violence, sometimes threaten to do it, though Tories would at all times be ashamed of it. One of the first acts of the reign of the calumniated George the Third, the grandfather of our present beloved sovereign, was to appoint the judges for life, instead of during the king's pleasure, as formerly: thereby making the judicature of the country entirely independent of the crown;

and this act on the part of the monarch was entirely gratuitous. The declared illegality of general warrants, and the writ of "habeas corpus" put it out of the power of the crown to imprison, or to detain in prison, any person contrary to law. And I believe it may be truly said that the monarchy of this country is the most limited monarchy upon earth. Since the extinction of the papal authority in England, the hierarchy is equally powerless; insomuch that the bishops and clergy are almost afraid of exercising their legitimate functions, and often incur considerable risk by doing it. And I think I may with equal truth declare that our hierarchy is the most straitened hierarchy in the world. The aristocracy also have no immunities which can enable them to injure any one with impunity. In such a state of things there is no pretence whatever for Whig, Radical, or Chartist principles, con-

trary as they all are to the express injunctions of Scripture ; which requires us not only to *obey* authority, but to respect and honour it, as bearing the impress of a Divine sanction.—“ Fear God, *honour* the king.” Suspicion is not the characteristic of noble minds ; and to persecute with perpetual jealousies those whom we have raised to power for our own benefit, is neither noble, generous, nor manly. William the Third, whose memory is immortalised in our history, was so disgusted at the jealousy with which he was treated by those who had called him over to secure their liberties, that he was on the point of going back to his own country on that account.

As human nature is constituted, the many must always be governed by the few ; the physical by the moral ; the ignorant by the intelligent ; the uneducated by the educated. It is the design of Providence in the structure of human society,

and we cannot alter it. An attempt has been made to do it in a neighbouring country, and soon produced another revolution. The great art of government is to preserve this order ; to keep the moral above the physical force, and to have, if possible, no collision between them. Legislation is a science, and requires an apprenticeship like other sciences. When, therefore, the moral minority throw themselves into the arms of the physical force of the country in order to accomplish their purposes, they act a very dishonourable part, and contravene the purposes of the Almighty in the structure of human society. The habit of appealing to the passions of the multitude, who are but instruments in the hands of others, is in itself an evidence of the moral weakness of the cause ; and no persons who have a nice sense of honour and christian duty, would ever resort to such expedients. If they

~~allege~~ ~~that~~ ~~they~~ cannot carry their measures without such expedients, and that ~~they~~ ~~believe~~ ~~those~~ measures would be beneficial to the country, are not others entitled to have an opinion as well as themselves? There is a tyranny in bearing down the opinions of educated and intelligent men, to whom the function of government naturally belongs, by the mere force of numbers, to whom it does not belong. And a cause which can only be supported by such means is a cause which no person of a manly mind and a christian spirit would like to adopt. If they profess a peculiar sympathy with the poor, the work-house rises up to our imagination, and we cannot forget that the maintenance of the poor is a charge upon their own estates. We have heard of one in former times who thought that the cost of the ointment poured upon the Saviour's feet might have been given to the poor:—"Not that he

cared for the poor, but because he held the bag."

But in order that I may not be misunderstood, I beg to observe that supporting a Whig measure does not necessarily make a man a Whig, nor supporting a Tory measure a Tory. All measures unconnected with the principles of government stand upon their own individual merits, without any reference to the parties who introduce them. It is the fundamental principles and their concomitant feelings that decide the character; and these generally pervade the *whole* character, both moral and political. I think I may say without fear of contradiction that the distinctive characteristic of the Conservative politics is an attachment to the Church and to the monarchy, with an equal regard to the comforts and happiness of the people. They consider loyalty as a generous and a manly feeling, and recognize in the person of the

sovereign a representative of the Divine prerogative. (Prov. viii. 15.) Instead of considering him merely as the chief magistrate, (as some persons have called him,) like the mayor of a corporate town, they consider a certain degree of sanctity connected with his office, as emanating from the source of all authority; and feeling that there is something of a natural affinity between piety and loyalty, they endeavour to practise the injunction of Scripture, "Fear God; honour the king." The peculiar characteristic of Whig politics is a jealousy both of the Church and of the monarchy, and a disposition to consider them both rather as enemies than friends to the happiness of the people, and to watch all their proceedings with suspicion and distrust. Their leaning is always to the low and the discontented, and those who are hostile to the institutions of the country, particularly in religion; and they

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show a constant inclination to exalt the lowest of the people to an importance in the scale of society for which they are intellectually disqualified, and for which they were never designed by the order of Providence, the analogies of nature, or the moral constitution of man. They look upon the kingly office as altogether secular, and possessing no sanctity beyond that of any other magistrate. Which of these two is the most noble, generous, and Christian, I will leave to others to decide.

If the preceding remarks should stamp upon me the character of a political bigot, I am willing to abide by the test of Scripture, which is the charter of every Christian's hope, and the code of every Christian's allegiance. And if for every passage in the New Testament appearing to sanction Whig principles and practice I do not produce twenty that either directly or indirectly condemn them, I will give up the



argument as untenable, and acknowledge that ignorance, passion, and violence are the properest tests for legislators to appeal to.

The conduct of the leading Whigs during the French Revolution, which struck with horror every friend of humanity, order, and religion, (except of a few who went over to the loyal party,) can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Complaining incessantly, as they did, of the expense of keeping from our own shores the convulsions which desolated the rest of Europe, shook every throne, and threatened the religion of every country, they seized upon the young heir apparent to the crown, set him against his father and his father's counsels, (which he adopted of his own accord as soon as he became emancipated by ascending his father's throne,) and encouraged him in every sort of licentiousness and extravagance to a degree almost unparalleled in the nation's history ;



almost laughing out of countenance both honesty and decorum. They opposed almost every measure taken by one of the ablest and most upright ministers the country ever possessed, for the preservation of peace and order, calling him a weak and wicked minister, (and holding his royal master in almost equal contempt,) whilst the rest of the world looked upon him as an instrument specially raised up by Providence to meet the appalling circumstances of the times. They toasted in public the sovereignty of the people, after the people of France had murdered their sovereign, his wife, and son, massacred as many of the nobility and clergy as they could lay hold of, and paraded through the streets of Paris a harlot, representing the goddess of liberty, riding upon an ass, with the blood-stained cap of liberty on her head, and a Bible dragged through the mud at the ass's tale, and sent invitations

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to the people of this country to fraternize with them. They predicted the failure of every attempt to resist the revolutionary torrent, and seemed to sigh over every shilling that was spent to preserve the throne and the altar, either at home or abroad. This threw them still more into the arms of the populace, and identified them with the enemies of the state.

The result of the contest is well known : and, notwithstanding the gloomy forebodings, if not wishes, of many of our self-styled patriots to the contrary, it was reserved for an Englishman to break the prestige of French inviolability in France, and to crush it in Belgium. The *Liberals*, who, like Gallio, cared but little for these things, have never forgiven the expense of that war to this day ; though our territory and institutions were kept inviolate, whilst those of almost every other country became a prey to the infuriated invaders, and

the power and splendour of this nation attained, in the course of the arduous struggle, an eminence which has never been equalled, and which has made it decidedly the first nation in the world.

The promoters of the last revolution in France have improved upon the "sovereignty of the people" proclaimed by the first, by adding to it the "treason of sovereigns." And the principles most rife in Europe at this day, though smouldering under a temporary suppression, are hostile to every control upon popular ignorance, caprice, and violence. Socialism is sapping the foundations of society in France, and scepticism those of religion in Germany. And the preference of secular to religious knowledge, so characteristic of *Liberalism* both at home and abroad, is driving religion every day further from the hearts and consciences of men in both countries. Had the throne and the altar

been able to speak, they would surely have exclaimed with honest Peter, "Thy money perish with thee," "we want none of your support; we take our stand upon the Bible, and call around us those who know its value, and if it fails, we are ready to perish with it."

It is equally true in our time, as it was when the remark was made by Burke, "The age of chivalry is gone; that of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded." Not that these subjects are to be overlooked or neglected. They are and ought to be attended to by every wise government, in proportion to their importance in the scale of the nation's exigencies. But they are not to supersede every great principle, and to engross every other feeling. This they will generally do, in proportion as the constituencies and their representatives are low in the scale of moral dignity, and as appeals are made to

the ignorant and the violent, to control the moral freedom of the national legislature.

I think experience proves that the enemies of religion and government are generally the same; and that the same character of mind that is jealous of authority in the one, repudiates order and discipline in the other. It is, in fact, the corruption of the natural heart rising in rebellion against the discipline that controls it, and struggling against all the restraints of order, "like a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke." How many of the leading patriots of that day could say at their parting hour, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation: which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, (alas, how few of them!) and to be the glory of thy people Israel." And with what feelings can their followers,

who adopt the same political strategy, when any but their own party is in power, join in the prayer of our beautiful liturgy, "From all sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion; from envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness; from hardness of heart and contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord, deliver us?"

A writer of a later period, reported (whether truly or not I cannot say) to be one who is now holding office in the government, said in one of the most popular works of the day, that the Stuarts were "a race accursed of God and man,"—a bold assertion for a youthful critic. I hope that he has seen reason in his maturer years to wish those words unsaid, recollecting the injunction of Scripture, (an old-fashioned book, but still, I should hope, of *some* authority in this philosophical age,) "Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the

hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the heart, and then shall every man have (his due) praise of God." (1 Cor. iv. 5.) "With what measure ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again." (Matt. vii. 2.) I cannot help thinking that in the judgments passed upon the two elder sovereigns of that family, sufficient allowance has not been made for the despotic character of the preceding dynasties. Neither Henry the Eighth nor Elizabeth would have liked a mutilated prerogative: and the new dynasty might think it a duty to transmit to their successors the prerogatives they received from their ancestors. Whoever may have compiled the *εικων βασιλικη*, I cannot help believing that the substance of it was written by the unhappy Charles himself. And the number of high-minded noblemen and gentlemen who fought in his ranks, affords some attestation both to his cause and to his character.



I forbear to enlarge on the numerous failures and inconsistencies of the party who had been so lavish of their accusations against the ministry of the country during the twenty years of that arduous struggle, which ended in its elevation to a state of unparalleled prosperity and glory, whilst almost every other nation in Europe was prostrated at the feet of the conqueror, when they afterwards came into power themselves. It cannot be forgotten that they sacrificed by their parsimonious policy the best appointed army ever sent forth in India (whose excellent equipment the commander-in-chief attested in his place in Parliament); and that, from the same unwarrantable parsimony, they put the nation to the expense of a protracted rebellion in Canada, which might have been speedily suppressed or altogether prevented by an adequate force, till the commander-in-chief declared in the same place, that the rebel-

lion could not be put down by driblets ;— both of which they felt themselves necessitated to do by their own unwarranted charges of extravagance against their predecessors. Had *they* acted on the same policy in Spain, the forebodings of another patriot of the day, that in a month's time there would not be a British soldier in Spain, except as a prisoner, might have been realised. When the chastisements of the Almighty were abroad to scourge and purify the nations of the earth, had the same parsimony been practised by the ministry of that day, we might have shared the common fate, instead of being raised to a pinnacle of greatness (for a purpose, no doubt, of a high moral import in the counsels of the Almighty) which has made us the admiration and envy of the world.

With regard to the domestic policy of the party, I will make an extract on this subject from the ablest journal of the day in this

and probably in any other country. "The estimates of the year 1835 (the first year of the new *Liberal* ministry) were singularly disingenuous. They forced the army and navy departments to exhaust the stores they had in hand, without providing for the necessities of coming years. They necessitated, first, the discharge and pensioning of a multitude of subordinate officers, and next, the substitution of others in their places. In fact, part of the burdens borne at this moment are the natural consequence of factitious and dishonest reductions made for the purpose of gaining popularity. An ill-timed parsimony is always the most fatal extravagance." ("Times," Jan. 16, 1849.)

It is said that great reductions are contemplated in our naval and military establishments. How far these are compatible with the safety of our widely extended empire, I do not pretend to know.

But if the sovereign people, who know as little of it as I do, demand it, the party must comply. They have lost their moral freedom. They have made the people their tools, and the people have made themselves their masters. They have brought an incubus upon themselves which they cannot shake off, and they must coax and flatter it, and keep it in good humour, by constantly giving it fresh sops in the political dripping-pan.

Neither can the country forget (at least it ought not to forget) the generosity with which their successors in the ministry overlooked their disastrous failures, (sufficient to warrant a public inquiry,) without uttering a word of accusation against them, after their policy had produced the greatest calamity that ever befel a British army, by refusing to it, as it is said, the reinforcement which it had solicited for its protection; the almost mira-

culous rapidity with which those successors retrieved the character of the British name and nation, by an army which had to march to the achievement over the bleached bones of their slaughtered comrades ; and the magnanimity and self-devotion with which they afterwards assisted the rival government in preserving the metropolis from the most perilous crisis it ever experienced, the matured result of its own previous policy. Such magnanimity well accords with the high character and feelings of the party who exercised it, the calumniated Tories. These *are* what their rivals *call* themselves ; not spurious, but real Liberals ; not those who “ say and do not,” (Matt. xxiii. 3,) but those who do and say not ; who are too high-minded to be the trumpeters of their own fame, but pursue their honourable career with an unostentatious modesty. I hope that if the party now in power should ever quit

office again, their own failures will have taught them a little more modesty in the accusations they bring against others; and that the temporary loyalty they will have acquired by the possession of office, will prevent their returning to their former habit of connecting themselves, either directly or indirectly, with the worst enemies of the State.

But I can fancy some Whig replying to me, "You quite mistake us: we do not want revolution." No; but when you are out of office, you make common cause with those who do; like your friends and supporters the Dissenters, who merge their own differences in their common hatred to the Church (the most efficient instrument that the Almighty is employing upon earth for carrying out the scheme of the world's redemption). You cleave to the lowest and most discontented part of every constituency. You use the same language,

employ the same agents, practise the same tactics, patronise the same journals, and reward with lucrative offices, when you come into power, those who have been remarkable for inflammatory writings when you were out of it.

When you succeeded to the government the Chartists were all astonishment to find that you were not one with them. And the great Irish agitator, who thought that your principles were the same as his, (and he had many opportunities of knowing your *professed* principles,) expressed his disgust, when he found out the deception, by applying to you a term which most persons will remember, but I will not repeat. Though you came into office on the professed principle of not interfering in the government of other countries, you sent an army and no army into Spain to control the succession there, being at peace and war with that country at the

same time; and you encouraged the Sicilians in their revolt against their lawful sovereign, with whom you were maintaining the relations of amity; being the gratuitous champions of rebellion and party warfare in other countries, though you had been incessantly condemning your predecessors for supporting the cause of order and loyalty in France against the most frightful revolution that the world ever witnessed.

Your charge against your predecessors of governing Ireland at the point of the bayonet, was followed by your sending many more bayonets there yourselves. No doubt, that charge greatly encouraged the agitator and his followers, and led to that rebellion which your predecessors would have prevented, if your jealousy would have let them, and which has consigned many of Ireland's sons to banishment.

That most alarming procession of the



Chartists to Westminster, which terrified the whole nation, and raised the hopes of almost all the revolutionists on the continent as well as in Ireland; and the rebellion in Wales, which cost the lives of several innocent persons, and terminated in the conviction of three of the rebels for high treason; are said to have been the consequence of language held by distinguished statesmen of your own party; who had actually placed in the magistracy one of the traitors when an imputation was already resting upon his loyalty; and when your successors appointed to that office only men of undoubted loyalty, you actually made it a subject of complaint in Parliament.

An eminent statesman now in power, and professing these *liberal* principles, says, in his work on the British Constitution, that these public outbreaks are soon suppressed, and leave no ill effects behind

them. But (to say nothing of the bloodshed which they frequently occasion, and the misery they entail on families, the exemplification of false principles, the alarm they excite, and the danger they occasion to the State) though the individual insurrections may be from time to time put down, the spirit of insurrection is not extinguished, but smoulders in secret combustion, (as it is still doing in France after two revolutions,) ready to break out into a flame as soon as any pretence for it is afforded. Nothing debases the character of a nation more than familiarity with crime, particularly with crimes of a deep dye. A tenderness for human life is a refinement in national character, and gives promise of great progress in what is noble and generous; but a recklessness of it, whether in ourselves or others, is a mark of great moral depravity. It is no trifling thing to send into eternity a single soul unannealed

for the awful and unalterable alternative, or to consider as trifling anything that may lead to it. To play at soldiers where the stake is eternity, and that for some fancied grievance which many good men believe to be no grievance at all, or, if it is, that it is one which Christianity commands us to endure, betrays a recklessness bordering upon impiety, a very low estimate of the importance of human life, and an indifference amounting to infatuation as to its unutterable and interminable consequences. No return to sound principles is effected by the suppression of these insurrections, nor is ever likely to be, till the party which has sown the seeds of them has the manliness to confess its errors, (might we not use a stronger term?) and to adopt principles in harmony with the word of God, the order of Providence, the analogies of nature, and the moral constitution of man.

Though you do not wish to go all the

lengths of those whom you indirectly encourage, and with whom you indirectly associate yourselves when it suits your purpose, you cannot stop at your bidding the stone you have set rolling down the hill, nor the bullet you have discharged from your rifle. You are responsible for the remote as well as the designed consequences, as he who applies the match is guilty of the whole conflagration. Straightforward, honest, christian loyalty is better than all the double dealing of a two-faced policy.

The great instrument of a nation's peace and security is its respect for government. You have taught the people to despise government: not this or that particular government, but government in its broad and general application. By so doing, you have loosened the chief bond of society, and greatly increased the difficulty of all government. Whatever might have

been the condition of human nature, had it never fallen from its primitive perfection, it is clearly now so corrupt and selfish, that discipline is necessary to its social existence. And, instead of dealing with man as if he was a perfect and unfallen creature, as he came from the hands of the Almighty, and had only to assert his own prerogative in order to become happy, wise, and virtuous, he must be dealt with as a fallen creature, and subjected to all the machinery of a moral, social, and political subordination. To deny this would be to deny the first element of our religion, which not only Scripture declares, but every man's experience confirms. Solomon calls discipline "the holy spirit of discipline," and says that vicious and ignoble minds cannot embrace it. (Wisd. i.)

Discipline is always the most irksome to those who are most in want of it, (Rom. xii. 3.) They have not calibre to appreciate its

excellence; and those who are most clamorous for liberty are always the persons who are the least fit for it. The practice of appealing to the least educated part of the community in preference to the more enlightened and intelligent is fundamentally vicious, and contrary to nature; and a cause which can only be supported by such means carries with it the stamp of its own unsoundness. None but men of a low moral calibre (whatever their intellectual attainments may be) will ever stoop to such expedients. And if educated, intelligent, and independent men are less to be trusted than the ignorant, the indigent, and the violent, our schools, colleges, and educational establishments may be shut up; and we may say, with a character described in Milton, "Evil, be thou my good,"—"Darkness, be thou my light;"—"Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."

Those who have most elaborately studied the prophecies believe that the close of the prophetic period is not far distant. The Scriptures, describing the signs of the latter days, say that men shall be lovers of themselves, (selfish,) covetous, false accusers, despisers of those that are good, murderers, complainers, despisers of government, speaking evil of dignities, &c. (2 Tim., 2 Peter, Jude, *passim*.) Your *liberal* principles and practice have taught the people to be all these; and not only to despise governments, but to rebel against them also, and to endeavour to overawe and intimidate them on the slightest occasions:—witness the transactions at Manchester, Newport, and Westminster,—the ripened fruits of your own principles and practices. St. Paul, speaking of the same period, says that the final development will be preceded by “a falling away,” (2 Thess. ii. 3,) by which he clearly means a decay

of national piety. And the expression denotes, not a violent disruption, but only such gradual declensions as will not greatly shock the public mind. And if the desecration of the institution of marriage, which our Saviour declared to be not only a divine ordinance, but a type of heaven,—the desecration of the coin by omitting the accustomed acknowledgment of the Divine sovereignty which had been stamped upon it from time immemorial, in unison with similar practices in former ages,—the continued desecration of the Sabbath at the Post Office in spite of the remonstrances of the people,—the refusal to appoint a day of humiliation in compliance with accustomed usages, when the nation was suffering under a Divine chastisement,—and the establishment of an university, or school of universal knowledge, for the instruction of youth, in which the only thing excluded is the “one thing needful,”—do

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not amount to such a "falling away," it would be difficult to say what does. An eminent statesman of the present day, a professor of these *liberal* principles, is reported to have said that a man is no more answerable for his faith than for the colour of his coat. How far this is removed from blasphemy (which St. Paul declares to be one of the characteristics of the latter days, 2 Tim. iii. 2) when our Saviour declares it to be a matter of life and death, (Mark xvi. 16,) I do not wish to determine.

As the advocates for the sovereignty of the people may perhaps take offence at the constitutional maxim that the king can do no wrong, it may be worth while to observe that that expression only means that the sovereign is not amenable to any human tribunal. The sovereign being at the head of all authority in the realm, all the tribunals in the kingdom hold their office from him, and exercise their func-

tions in his name, and as his representatives. They cannot, therefore, be competent to try him whose representatives they are. And as somebody must be at the head of all authority, and therefore answerable to none, our constitution has vested that function in the person of the sovereign. The legislature of this country consists of three separate branches, which are called the three estates of the realm, namely, king, lords, and commons: and nothing can become a law of the land without the sanction of them all. It is necessary to the preservation of this constitution that all the three branches of it should be independent. As the two houses of parliament are independent both of each other and of the crown, and are not accountable to any tribunal in their corporate capacity, it is necessary that the crown should possess the same independence. If the sovereign was liable to be put on his trial by

one or both of the houses of parliament, he would be no longer independent. And if the parliament was competent to put him on his trial at one time, it would at another, and in fact at all times. His veto would then be a mere nullity. He would not dare to exercise it freely, lest he should be tried for his crown, or perhaps his life. He would act under perpetual fear, and would be in fact the slave or delegate of the two houses. His office would be a mere nullity, and the constitution, instead of being a monarchy, would be either an oligarchy or a democracy. Whatever may appear objectionable in this maxim arises from the necessity of *some* authority being paramount: and the personal responsibility of the sovereign cannot be admitted as a recognised law of the constitution. If the rights of the people were violently outraged by the sovereign, (a thing next to impossible in these times, for the rea-

sons I have stated,) no doubt, outraged humanity would rise to vindicate its rights and do itself justice ; but it cannot be recognized as a principle of the constitution. Ordinary reasoning is designed for ordinary circumstances : extraordinary emergencies must be left to extraordinary remedies.

In whatever light we view Whig, Radical, and Chartist principles, (for they are only different shades of the same thing,) whether in that of their accordance with Scripture, the character of those who have been most conspicuous in maintaining them, or the effects they have had on society both at home and abroad, I can see nothing in them noble, generous, or manly ; particularly in these times, when the balancing point of the constitution is past, and the tendency of the public mind is more towards anarchy than despotism, and the cause of order, religion, and loyalty is that which most wants the support of all good

men. They are at variance with that principle of subordination which appears to be the law of the universe, and greatly destructive of Christian modesty. They tend greatly to disturb the peace of society, and to encourage the selfish rather than the benevolent feelings in private life. They are not only contrary to the political principles so expressly enunciated and so minutely detailed in Scripture, but to all the elements of Christian character exhibited throughout the whole Gospel. Instead of "the meekness and gentleness of Christ," and the charity which "seeketh not her own, and beareth all things," they make people jealous of their rights, both real and imaginary, "to the uttermost farthing," and envious of all those who appear to stand in the way of them. They are founded on the least generous principles of our nature, and have little affinity to the charities and the peace of heaven.

Dissent in religion, where there is an orthodox and established Church,—orthodox (I mean) in all things necessary to salvation, and which are capable of being ascertained by the limited capacity of man; and everything in politics implying resistance or intimidation, where there is such a degree of liberty as is sufficient to satisfy reasonable men,—are incompatible with the allegiance we owe to order, peace, and social harmony. A nation is a society of persons living together under one system of laws and public institutions, where every individual is bound to subordinate his private partialities and opinions to the wishes and interests of the whole community, expressed by the constitution itself. And no person is at liberty to separate himself from these in order to indulge his peculiar predilections. It is contrary to the common principle of nationality; and, if it was permitted, would denationalize

the whole community. If it is allowable in one thing, it must be in another; and the general admission of it would make the structure of society like a rope of sand, held together by no common sympathies. If our essential interests are provided for by the public establishments of the country, we have no right to indulge our peculiar fancies as to the administration of them, to the detriment of the national institutions.

There are no sound theological objections to our national Church, as the excellent Bishop of Calcutta has clearly shown in his last admirable charge, if its doctrines are examined by *all* its expositions,—its articles, creeds, liturgy, offices, and homilies,—taken *collectively*; and so interpreted, according to the just and acknowledged principle of legal interpretation in doubtful cases, “*ut res magis valeat quàm cadat.*” Considering the im-

perfections of human nature, both moral and intellectual, it is the duty of all good men to apply this principle of accommodation, and to make use of this liberality of construction, for the sake of peace and harmony : to see how apparent discrepancies may be reconciled, instead of real ones created, and to establish union, rather than discord, in the social body. There are many passages in Scripture which appear contradictory to each other; such as the declarations of St. Paul and St. James respecting faith and works, the doctrines of necessity and free-will, the efficacy of baptism, and the precise period of regeneration, and many others. And we can only arrive at *practical* truth in these matters (for absolute certainty in them is beyond the capacity of the human intellect) by “comparing spiritual things with spiritual,” studying “line upon line, and precept upon precept,” and bringing



to the inquiry a modest and *accommodating* spirit. And a person is not at liberty to fly off from a national establishment, much less to set up rival ones against it, and to attempt its overthrow, because everything it contains is not exactly to his fancy. "Tu non toleras?" says the pious Thomas à Kempis, "Quis te tolerabit?" "Bear ye one another's burdens," says a greater than Thomas à Kempis, "and so fulfil the law of Christ."

It was a remark of Dr. Johnson, that if a person, who professes to be better than others, is not better, he is worse. As we are commanded in Scripture not to judge others, I will not hazard a conjecture on this point. But I have occasionally inquired of medical men, who (I think) see human nature under a greater variety of aspects than most others, which of the two they would sooner trust, a churchman or a dissenter, supposing they knew nothing

else about him, and I have never received but one answer, which was, that they would rather trust a churchman. If the established Church is not good enough for Dissenters, it has been good enough for many as wise and as good as them, as the day of judgment will probably show. And they will then have to search for fresh apologies for tearing to pieces a nation's harmony, setting one part of the community against another, (for their feelings against churchmen are both bitter and contemptuous,) and resisting the command of Scripture, "Submit to every ordinance of *man* for the Lord's sake."

The plea of conscience, which is like an impregnable fortress which no man can reconnoitre, may be judged of by their conduct since they compelled an abject ministry to place the holy institution of marriage on a level with a bargain for a beer-shop, as Puritans and Democrats have

done before. The most respectable of them make use of the services of the national church for marriage, baptism, and burial, to this day. The Bishop of Ripon says in his last charge, "Of the marriages performed in one year since the Registration Act, it was found that ninety per cent. were celebrated in the Church of England, of baptisms seventy-five per cent., and of burials eighty-five." This gives us a little insight into the impregnable citadel of conscience. And their claim of exemption from tithes and church-rates, for which they have received a compensation in the purchase of their estates and houses, shows a conscience equally accommodating. Their claim of church property as the property of the nation, which they know, or ought to know, consists chiefly of grants made by individuals to individual localities, and never belonged to the nation at all, is equally devoid of con-

scientious reasoning. And even if they had not received an equivalent for tithes and church-rates, they are equally bound with all other subjects to support the institutions of the country, whether they make use of them or not; as every resident member of a college must pay for his college dinner, although his appetite may lead him to a tavern.

The attempts of the Dissenters to prove that the primitive churches were all independent, and subject to no foreign superintendence or control, is equally futile; contrary to the great preponderance of evidence on the other side, both scriptural and historical, and actually amounting to nothing, even if it could be substantiated. For the christian church did not come into being, like the Jewish, in the plenitude of a full maturity; but grew, as our Saviour declared it would do, like a grain of mustard-seed, from the smallest

of seeds to the greatest of herbs ; having its root, its stem, its branches, and its leaves, which had no visible existence in its seminal state. It would then require in its development a more copious organization, and have occasion for offices and functionaries unknown in its primitive condition. There was a time when there were no deacons in the christian church ; but the apostles themselves have set us the example of increasing the executive as fresh contingencies required it. And the argument, that because there were no national or provincial churches in the apostolic age, when Christianity did not possess either a nation or a province, there ought to be none now, is so childish, that it is difficult to believe it to be ingenuous. It is like arguing that a person ought not to eat meat or drink wine in the maturity of manhood, because he did not do it when he was a sucking child.

If the term "bishop," which means an overseer, has been applied in Scripture to the pastors of single churches, when those churches became numerous the pastors themselves might require overseers over *them*, for the purpose of preserving uniformity of doctrine and discipline; in compliance with the repeated injunctions of St. Paul, that Christians should "all speak *the same thing*, that there should be no *divisions* among them, but that they should with *one mind and one mouth* glorify God." (1 Cor. i. 10; Rom. xv. 5, 6; Philip. ii. 2, 3; 1 Cor. xiii. 11.) It is difficult to conceive how this can be done, without a common superintendence and a common liturgy; and it seems quite incompatible with the right of *private judgment*, which the Dissenters claim for *every individual*, and which has divided the Church into so many sects and parties. This common superintendence was exer-

cised by the apostles themselves, and committed to Titus (and probably to Timothy) with a much more plenary authority than that exercised by any bishop or archbishop in our Church. The necessity of preserving this uniformity was probably the origin of creeds and liturgies, which have existed from a very early period. And if this superintendence was necessary when the churches were few and small, that necessity will hardly be denied when the churches have become large and numerous.

The continental reformers were so far from objecting to the episcopal form of church government, that Calvin actually applied twice to Queen Elizabeth to assist him in establishing a Protestant Episcopacy on the continent, but she declined it because she did not think herself able to effect it, and perhaps, also, because it might have involved the nation in a war;

and the popular form of church government arose from necessity rather than from choice. The more I see of the working of the voluntary principle, even from the writings of the Dissenters themselves, the more I am convinced that episcopacy is the best, if not the only form of government, for preserving order, peace, and harmony. It resembles the beautiful discipline of an army, and is in harmony with that great principle of the Divine government, the principle of subordination,—which is so salutary and so necessary to the rebellious spirit of man, and so odious to all the party, both in Church and State, which emphatically styles itself *liberal*. The principles opposed to this have a greater affinity to those which cast Satan out of heaven than to those which brought the Saviour from it; and, as He himself says, “The world will love its own,” so will the Saviour know and love “those



that are his," who "walk in his steps," and follow his precepts.

The attempt to prove that schism means a separation *in* a Church, and not a separation *from* it, is equally futile ; as there must have been a separation *in* the Church before there was a separation *from* it. And if this separation is not a schism in the *Church*, it is schism in the *nation*, and productive of discord, jealousy, and hatred, like every other schism.

In a work published last year by a Dissenter entitled, "Religious Life in the Established Church," and dedicated to Mr. Baptist Noel, of which the advertisement said that 70,000 copies had been sold in an incredibly short space of time, (I believe about two months,) in which the author, after enumerating the abuses of the Church, exhorts, in very strong terms, every pious churchman to leave it, if he cannot get rid of the evil of patronage ;

he quotes, with a show of etymological learning, several passages from Scripture to prove that schism means a separation *in* a thing, and not a separation *from* it: and one of the examples he adduces to prove it is the proposed rent, or schism, in our Saviour's garment, — which proves exactly the contrary, as each soldier was to have a separate part.

But the root of the evil lies deeper than any of these ostensible objections. However conscientious many of the primitive non-conformists may have been, most of whom were clergymen, and therefore might think themselves in some degree pledged to all the opinions of the Church, their followers, who were under no necessity of being ministers, were under no such obligation. A person may be a sincere worshipper in a church without being pledged to all its speculative opinions, on questions which can never be reduced to certainty.

And there must be open questions in a Church as well as in a political ministry.

A speaker whom I heard upon a platform yesterday gave a very happy illustration of the principle that a variety of opinions on speculative points does not destroy the unity of a Church, by observing that "naturalists say that no two leaves are exactly alike, even upon the same tree, yet there is no difficulty in distinguishing to what tree they belong, whether an oak, an ash, or an elm." Where the *principle* of separation is inherent in a system, occasions will never be wanting for the application of it: but love will reconcile many differences; or, in more scriptural language, "Charity covereth a multitude of sins."

As St. Paul declares that many things in the christian economy are mysterious, or beyond the grasp of the human intellect, and St. Peter, that some are beyond

the comprehension of angels, God can never require that we should have clear and defined notions on subjects which are beyond the human comprehension. A difference of opinion therefore from the Church to which we belong on such speculative points is not a sufficient reason for leaving it; much less for attempting to destroy it.

The tenacity of dissent must be accounted for on some deeper and more elementary principle of human nature than mere error or feebleness of judgment. It is founded chiefly on the pride of independence, the rejection of discipline, and the love of dominion; which likes to "fret its hour upon the stage, armed with a little brief authority, before it goes hence, and is no more seen." It is this that makes it catch at everything in the shape of argument, however feeble, clinging to the weaker in preference to the

stronger evidence, and practising a variety of evasions to "make the worse appear the better cause." It proceeds from the same character of mind as the principles of the low party in politics, with which it is almost invariably associated, and which are now threatening, in smouldering combustion, the principles of order, religion, and government in almost every country in Europe.

When the Dissenters claim to be recognised as a distinct body in the State, they act on the principle of deserters from an army, who should form themselves into a volunteer corps, and claim to be recognised by the commander-in-chief, whose authority they despise and repudiate. No other class of persons in the nation is allowed to beard the authorities of the State (of which the Church both is and ought to be a part, as it was in the Jewish economy) as the dissenters do; and they have no

right to complain of the want of *liberty*, if they are permitted to do it with impunity.

A celebrated dissenting minister once told me that our Church was not a scriptural Church, and that it was founded upon expediency. I did not exactly know at the time what he meant by a scriptural Church. But as it sets more of the Scriptures before its congregation than any other Church upon earth, (a great deal more than his own,) I think it is fully entitled to be called a scriptural Church. And with regard to expediency, as there is no precise form of church government actually *prescribed* in the Christian Scriptures, as there was in the Jewish, though our own comes nearest to the one actually practised, expediency is the fittest principle to act upon in the absence of all express direction. The principle is recognised by St. Paul himself: and nobody

was more forward to acknowledge the principles of reason and common sense than our Saviour and his apostles.

With regard to our liturgy, which is something tangible, and not dependent upon the ignorance, caprice, or fancy of half-educated men, and sometimes of half-educated boys, the late Robert Hall, who was one of the most distinguished men that dissent has ever produced, has given the most honourable testimony to its excellence in the following words:—"The evangelical purity of its doctrines, the chastened fervour of its devotions, and the majestic simplicity of its language, conspire to give it a very high place amongst the uninspired productions of the human mind." What apology the dissenters will have to give for rejecting this, the joint production of some of the most able, learned, and pious men that ever adorned a nation's history, I do not know.

No individual is responsible for the errors of a national Church provided it points out the way of salvation, and does not either require or tolerate anything that is sinful, as the Church of Rome actually does. And our separation from that Church, which never had any other than an usurped authority in this country, affords no excuse or precedent for the separation of dissenters from our own. It seems to savour too much of loyalty and *subordination*, (the great principle of God's universal government,) particularly in its admirable litany, to suit the taste of modern *Liberals*. There is not enough of the Whig and the Radical in it to meet the aspirings of a choice philosophy. But however little it may accord with the taste of modern patriots, it possesses one advantage which no other scheme of public devotion contains, and of which I cannot but consider it as absolutely wicked to deprive



the people, though it is only by persuasion, and not by force. It is an actual moral and spiritual *training* of the mind by its own individual efforts. A member of the Church, if he does *his own* prescribed duty in the congregation, instead of listening, or perhaps not listening, to another, as at a theatre or a concert, has something to do *himself*. He is an actor in the scene, and not "a hearer only," and his own mind is trained in the exercises of devotion till it acquires a spiritual cast and temperament of *its own*. Our Church responds in some measure to the request made by the disciples to our Saviour, "Lord, teach *us* to pray." And as practice and principle act reciprocally upon each other, a devotional feeling is produced in the mind by its own habitual exercises. And as so much has been said about patronage in these days, it may be worth while to observe that a prescribed liturgy makes the con-

gregation nearly independent of the minister, and entirely so in the prayers, which are the most important part of public worship. Though the devotions of the congregation are *led* by the minister, they are not *controlled* by him ; and every individual in it can worship God as independently in the church as he could in his own house or secret chamber. And as no person can be appointed to the ministry in our Church till after the highest authorities have declared him competent, notwithstanding this precaution may sometimes fail, as most other precautions occasionally do, the attainments of the individual minister are of much less consequence in our Church than in any other ; particularly in those where the whole service is the composition, prepared or unprepared, of the minister alone, and the people have nothing to do but to listen, look about, or go to sleep.

The same dissenting minister who told me that our Church was not a scriptural Church, also said that he would not give place to a clergyman of the Establishment in walking out of a room. Whether this resolution was dictated by pride or piety I do not wish to determine ; but I hope that any clergyman of the Establishment would be too much of a gentleman and a Christian (Luke xiv. 10, 11, Matt. xviii. 3, 4,) to dispute the matter with him. I believe the same minister was in the habit of preaching occasionally out of doors to persons assembled at fairs and other scenes of riotous amusement, and I gave him credit for his zeal in so doing. Whether the subject of his discourses on those occasions was humility (which is the first element of the christian character) I never heard.

I will quote the authority of another dissenter, but one of a very different stamp from most of the present day, to show the

working of the principle of dissent in his time, when it was much less rampant and aspiring than it is now. The estimable Dr. Doddridge, commending the accommodating spirit of St. Paul, in recommending Timothy to be circumcised, out of consideration for the prejudices of the Jews, notwithstanding he contended so strenuously for the abolition of the Jewish ceremonies, says, "Well may the Church expect eminent service from the ministers of the rising generation that set out with *such a spirit*; while, on the other hand, when a fierce and haughty spirit of *liberty* is the reigning, darling character, and a determination is formed to submit in nothing, to oblige in nothing; as the *first elements* of the christian character seem to be *unknown*, there is great reason to believe that the doctrines and *precepts* of the gospel will not, *cannot* be successfully taught; great reason to fear that *such in-*

*structors* will have their reward in the empty applauses which they *give to themselves* ('*populus me sibilet, at mihi plaudo*') and to each other; while they brand those who are solicitous to become wise, that they may win souls, with reproaches, which God will remember in *that day when he shall judge the secrets of all hearts*; and will find many of them far different from what such men have presumed to pronounce them." (Family Expositor. Improvement to Acts xvi. 2.) How will Mr. Binney, who has undertaken to declare that the Church of England has lost more souls than it has saved, reply to this; or feel when he is called upon to substantiate the charge at the bar of eternal justice? (Matt. xii. 36, 37;) and what would the dissenters in general have said, if this passage had been written by a churchman?

But it would not be right to dismiss

this subject without giving some evidence from *modern* dissenters of the working of the *voluntary principle* and the results of *popular government*: for a dissenting independent congregation is the most democratical institution in the kingdom, and perhaps in the world. For this purpose I shall make use of a work well known to all inquirers into this subject, written by a dissenter well acquainted with the system, who was driven from it by the multiplied disgusts which he experienced in it, and is now (I believe) a clergyman in the Established Church. It is the "Autobiography of a Dissenting Minister." It has gone through five editions, if not more; and although the dissenters have taken great offence at it, and deny its accuracy, when a person in a respectable situation of life repeats the same statement in five successive editions, of facts with which he was himself mixed up, and declares in

each of them that it contains no exaggeration, it requires something more than a simple denial by the parties affected by it to induce us to reject his testimony. The author commences his work by saying, "I have a higher object in view than to gratify a vain curiosity. For my aim in the following pages will be rather to set forth the evils of a *system* than to cast reproach upon any individual. Some matters I must disguise, and most I shall rather soften than exaggerate. I am not going to make a fiction that shall look like truth, but rather to exhibit a truth which will look like fiction; for they who *do not* know it to be true will think it to be a fiction, and they who *do* know it to be true will call it a fiction." (Autobiog. p. 1.) If, after this declaration, the statement is false, the person who makes it must be one of the worst of men. And it would be a departure from all the rules of just

and ordinary criticism to suppose him to be so in the absence of all testimony to confirm it. The author was the son of a dissenter in the Borough of Southwark. He says, "I was imbued from my earliest childhood with the idea that nothing good could exist out of the pale of dissent. None but the books of our own sect were ever admitted into our house ; and, as far as possible, all care was taken that we should not hold intercourse with the people of the world ; for so we designated all that did not belong to our sect. Sometimes, indeed, it was absolutely necessary to meet with individuals belonging to the Established Church ; but on such occasions I observed that so little conversation passed, that we seemed to be in the company of foreigners who could not speak our language. As for going into a church, we should as soon have thought of going into a playhouse, which building we



were taught to regard as the house of the devil. We did not, indeed, call the church by the same name, but we regarded it with almost the same abhorrence ; and we used to speak of a church parson as of one who had no religion, morals, or understanding." (Autobiog. p. 2.)

I cannot help observing here that the training up of children from their infancy to hatred and contempt of others, and particularly of the government of their country, savours little of that christian spirit which the dissenters profess so eminently to possess. It is neither consistent with loyalty nor with christian charity. It is both a political and a moral offence ; and quite contrary to that distinguishing feature of Christianity, which requires us to "honour all men, to submit to every ordinance of man *for the Lord's sake*, and to be clothed with humility." (1 Pet ii. 17, 13 ; v. 5.) The church establishment is

the largest feature of the nation's government, besides being the organ of our highest interests. It is larger than the army, the navy, the legislature, the judicature, or the revenue. It accompanies us from the cradle to the grave, and is equally present to our thoughts and to our senses, both in war and in peace. To churchmen it is an emblem of peace, and holiness, and future blessedness; and whatever our trials or sufferings may be here below, it points to brighter days to come. But dissenters make it an ensign of war and hatred, and all the worst passions of our nature. And the habitual contempt from infancy of the largest and most important feature of the government under which we live, with a monument of it in every parish in which we can either dwell or travel, must have a very injurious effect upon the moral character, besides being a direct breach of christian discipline and

duty. Instead of subduing the pride and selfishness of the human heart, which is the object of all good education, and is greatly promoted by the principle of subordination, it systematically fosters them. It carries with it an air of defiance, and a pharisaical claim of superiority over others, quite inconsistent with christian modesty; and instead of contributing to that peace and unity so highly commended and emphatically enjoined in Scripture, (Ps. cxxxiii.; 1 Cor. i. 10, xiii. 11; Phil. ii. 2; Rom. xv. 6, &c.,) it sets out by considering more than half the nation its enemies. It makes its adherents both bad neighbours and bad subjects, extending itself, as it does, to politics as well as religion, (for it is almost invariably found that Radicals in religion are Radicals in politics,) and converting what is emphatically called in Scripture "the gospel of *peace*," (Ephes. vi. 15,) into an instrument of dis-

cord, war, and hatred. Our Saviour has declared that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." If that is not verified in this country, it will not be the fault of the dissenters. And if they should succeed in pulling down the national Church, let them take care that its ruins do not fall upon their own heads.

With what feelings the dissenters view the beautiful new churches springing up throughout the land I cannot say. Neither do I know with what emotion its enemies beheld the temple of Solomon rising into majesty and beauty. But I can fancy the joy with which they saw the torch of Babylon reducing it to ashes, and the flames of Titus destroying its successor. There never was a time when the Church was more zealous and spiritual than it is at this moment; nor when its enemies had less to allege against it. And what is it but this radical and licentious

spirit, which dignifies itself with the name of *Liberal*, both in religion and politics, that prevents our highly favoured country from realizing that beautiful sentiment of the Psalmist, "Behold how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity! It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down unto the beard, even unto Aaron's beard, and went down to the skirts of his clothing. Like as the dew of Hermon which fell upon the hill of Sion. For there the Lord promised his blessing, and life for evermore." (Ps. 133.) And what is it but the wantonness of *liberty* that prevents our applying to our own country, which the world views with admiration and envy, another beautiful description of the Psalmist, "Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity in itself. For thither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord, to testify unto Israel, to give thanks unto the name of

the Lord. For there is the seat of judgment, even the seat of the house of David. O pray for the peace of Jerusalem ! they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sakes I will wish thee prosperity. Yea, because of the house of the Lord our God I will seek to do thee good." (Ps. cxxii.) If the factious and discontented, both in religion and politics, who busy themselves so much in matters beyond their province and capacity, would show a little more of the spirit of David in "not exercising themselves in matters that are too high for them," (Ps. cxxxi.) they would do more good by their example than they can ever do by their turbulence ; and our constitution, which Soame Jennings compared to a body kept alive by opposite poisons, might know something of the repose of peace and harmony. Everything in the

Divine economy is designed to have its use and its place, like the various instruments of a great machine, or the well-adjusted members of the animal frame. But when the feet aspire to the functions of the head, all is confusion, discord and violence.

Oh the beauty of genuine modesty ! by which I do not mean that childish bashfulness which is afraid of looking others in the face ; but that delicate regard to the claims and feelings of others which is always afraid of taking too much itself ; and which, conscious of its own imperfections, even while others unite in praising it, would almost be ready to exclaim with Peter, if the Saviour were to appear to it in visible presence, " Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord." This is the secret of social harmony : the absence of selfishness is the perfection of morals.

I have sometimes heard dissenters complimenting churchmen standing upon the

same platform, and I confess that my heart felt some misgiving. For I feel it difficult to give my confidence to a person who, at the same time that he holds out to me the hand of friendship, sets his foot behind me to trip up my heels. Nevertheless I am anxious for the success of the Bible Society; as, if the holy seed is but sown throughout the world, it is not a matter of much consequence by what instrumentality it is effected.

I believe there is not one dissenter in a hundred who knows any theological reason for separating from the Church; and therefore Mr. Angell James, in order to to rescue them from the inconsistency of separating from the national Church without knowing why, has given in his "Church-Member's Guide" a catalogue of objections to it, with a list of the authors who wrote upon them: objections so frivolous, that a schoolboy of little more



than ordinary attainments might refute them. Might not that list be called "Invitations to, and arguments for, schism?" The general contempt of authority on which their separation is based is a breach both of social unity and christian duty. And as every person who goes to the national church to perform *his own* duties, and not to criticise the performance of the minister, (a practice almost universal amongst dissenters,) has the finest opportunity afforded to him of worshipping God "in spirit and in truth" that the ability of man can present to him, this supercilious separation of the dissenters from it must be attributed to something different from genuine piety.

After describing the superficial instruction he received at school, and his almost equally superficial education at the dissenting college, which he represents as one of the most respectable in the neigh-

bourhood, the Autobiographer says, "In the academical establishment which I have been describing, the utmost *liberality* of political opinion prevailed, and frequently political subjects were given us as subjects for our themes; and I believe it was generally considered as a piece of *academical etiquette* to take the *anti-national* side of the question (an excellent preparation for loyalty and good citizenship). There were several shades and gradations of opinion, from the sober Whig to the conceited and roaring Democrat. Paine's 'Age of Reason' was of course not in esteem among us, (for that, by denying the truth of all Revelation, is equally hostile to Church and dissenting interests,) but his 'Rights of Man,' (a work inimical to all social and political subordination,) was highly popular: nor did we much relish the Socinianism of Dr. Priestly, but we admired him as a martyr to the cause of *liberty*.

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And though we adopted not the Arianism of Dr. Price, we gloried in his avowal of the right of the people to call kings to account, and to cashier them for misconduct. We regarded America as the 'ne plus ultra' of political perfection,—as the pure land of *liberty*, civil and religious. We hated the name of William Pitt, (the great defender of the throne and the altar,) and all but worshipped that of Charles James Fox, (the proclaimer of the sovereignty of the people.) We could not well understand the 'Diversions of Purley,' but we venerated his (Horne Tooke's) politics. We had in our college library, in four volumes, the trials of Thelwall, Hardy, Horne Tooke, and others for high treason, (whether a part of their theology or not I do not know,) and we regarded Sir Francis Burdett as the first of living characters. Indeed, whatever theological or political prejudices I had been imbued with under

my parental roof were by no means abated by the society or pursuits of the college; though I think that ultimately, by means of the excess to which the opinions were carried, and the bigotry with which they were maintained, the hold which they originally had of my mind was very greatly shaken." It is probable that in consequence of the exposure contained in this work the dissenters may have since a little altered the plan of their academical instruction, for we have heard lately of their "dogmatics" and their "didactics," and other high-sounding titles : but that they will ever teach loyalty, or respect for authority, or that from which they both spring, christian modesty, is too much to expect.

Mr. Angell James, the great champion and apologist for dissent, has a section in his "Church-Member's Guide" to prove that the government of a dissenting con-

gregation is not a democracy. But all his reasoning proves that it is; as the ultimate appeal in *everything*, in matters both of doctrine and discipline, lies to the congregation, and not to the minister, whose judgment, wishes, and directions it can at all times overrule and supersede. He says the pastor *rules* by *explaining* the law, but that the flock are not bound to adopt his explanations, if they can see any reason to the contrary. And he concludes by saying that it is a Christocracy,—a thing which does not exist, as our blessed Saviour prescribed no form of church government of any kind; but another has said in His name and on His authority, “*Obey* them that are set over you, and *submit* yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief; for that is *unprofitable* for you.” (Heb. xiii. 17.)

In speaking of his classical tutor's scholarship, the author says, "It was so great that he could read any Greek author with a Latin translation, but none without; and that there can be no competent means of overlooking the fidelity of the tutors at these dissenting academies, as they are employed by the trustees, who are themselves incompetent judges, and generally at the *cheapest* rate." (Ch. ii. *passim*.) He also says that the students are often sent out during their pupilage to preach, and of course to pray extempore, in the neighbouring villages, where they must be competitors of the educated clergyman and of our splendid liturgy, and interfere with the spiritual jurisdiction and superintendence of the lawful minister, before they are twenty. He winds up this part of his subject by saying, "From the long acquaintance that I have had with the dissenters, I am led to think that mediocrity

is their chief characteristic. They have had, and may yet have, among them men who aspire to literary eminence, and some few who may be called men of genius, but their literature is but narrow, and their genius not of the highest order. They live so much among themselves, and have such a dwarfish and stunted standard of excellence, that they never astonish anybody but themselves." (See the passage I have above quoted from "Doddridge's Improvement to Acts. xvi. 2.) "The only matter in which they are at all excessive is *Radicalism*. They are really outrageous in what they are pleased to call *liberty*, (overlooking that first element of our religion, the hereditary corruption of man, which makes him unfit for uncontrolled liberty, so flattering to the pride and selfishness of the human heart.) I speak not of all, but of part, and a *very great* part."

It would be fatiguing to my readers,

and too great an interruption to the original purport of this letter, to go through the details which the author gives to exemplify the treatment that the dissenting minister experiences, in places of average importance, at the hands of his tyrannical employers. It is necessary to read the work itself, to form an adequate conception of it. He is at their mercy in everything. Men, women, and almost children, are the exclusive judges of his talents, his orthodoxy, and his whole deportment, both as a minister and an individual. He, and his wife, if he has one, are required to take part in all the gossip, scandal, and party and personal quarrels of the congregation. His politics must agree with theirs, and every part of the conduct of himself, his wife, and children, is the subject of criticism, and often of anonymous letters. As soon as they get tired of him, (for when he has survived the attractive-



ness of his *novelty*, they generally do, and their great champion, Mr. Angell James, acknowledges that it seldom lasts above seven years,) they bring all sorts of frivolous accusations against him : and although they cannot actually turn him out, they can, and actually do, *starve* him out, by either withdrawing their subscriptions, or reducing them to so scanty a pittance, that he is obliged to retire. His condition is then most forlorn, and much worse than that of a discharged servant, as it is very difficult for a discharged minister to get another appointment. This liability obliges him to flatter the humours of his congregation, both in the pulpit and out of it, and makes him in fact their slave." The author concludes this part of his narrative, by saying, "I am more and more convinced every day I live, that the situation in which a dissenting minister is placed is one of *essential and hopeless servility*."

· Democrats are always tyrants, and those who are too proud to obey are always found too tyrannical to govern. Rebellion and tyranny grow upon the same stock, and pride and selfishness are at the bottom of them both. As the minister is appointed by popular election, the same faction, intrigue, and party violence occurs as at most other popular elections; and Mr. Angell James acknowledges in his "Church-Members' Guide," that whenever the election of a new minister takes place in any of the dissenting congregations, (which amount to about two thousand,) it brings on a "perilous crisis" in the church. Surely we need not go to churchmen to expose the vices of the dissenting system. The dissenters themselves supply us with the most abundant evidence of it. And one would have thought that ordinary modesty would have induced persons so circumstanced to be silent on the abuse of

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patronage in the Established Church; where "all things are done," according to the apostle's rule, "decently and in order," as far as human infirmity will allow, notwithstanding occasional dissensions may arise, as they do in every other community.

As great attempts have been made to impugn the veracity of the author of this work, I think it right to observe that almost all the statements in it are confirmed by the indirect *admissions* in Mr. James's work, particularly in the chapter which speaks of the causes of dissension in dissenting congregations, which was never designed to meet the eyes of churchmen; and, in consequence of the offence given to the dissenters by those admissions, he has thought it expedient to publish an abridgment of the tenth edition of his "Church-Members' Guide," with the offensive passages left out.

I shall finish these extracts by giving two others from Mr. James himself, which I have taken from the "Church and State Gazette," of Feb. 27, 1849, not being able to procure all the editions of the "Church-Members' Guide," from which I believe the whole is taken; but the greater part of them is contained in the two copies which I have before me, namely, the abridged and unabridged tenth edition of it, and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of any part of it. The first of these passages speaks of the treatment of dissenting ministers by their congregations, and the other of the antinomian and unitarian *doctrines* so prevalent among them. They are as follows:—"The members of dissenting congregations are frequently hasty in the choice of a pastor, and soon grow tired of the man whom they chose at first with every demonstration of sincere and strong regard. They seldom ap-

prove a minister beyond the term of seven years, and are so uniform in the term of their satisfaction, as to make their neighbours look out for a change when that period is about to expire. It is to the deep and eternal reproach of some churches, that though possessed of ability, they dole out but a wretched pittance from their affluence. They love their minister dearly with their lips, but hate him as cordially with their pockets. They treat him as they would wild beasts, who are *tamed into submission by hunger*, and keep him humble by keeping him poor. It is curious to hear how some persons will intreat God to bless their minister in his basket and in his store, while, alas, poor man! they have taken care that his basket shall be empty, and his store nothingness itself! They have seen him struggling against the cares of an increasing family, and marked the cloud of gloom as it settled and thickened

upon his brow : they know his wants, and yet, though able to double his salary, and dissipate every anxious thought, they have refused to advance his stipend, and have robbed him of his comforts, either to gratify their avarice or indulge their sensuality." These are some of the fruits of the principles called *liberal*, and of that idol of political philosophy, civil and religious *liberty* ; to which the Church and the monarchy must be sacrificed, if these champions of independence are to have their way.

I beg leave to place by the side of the foregoing extracts, the following passages from Scripture ; from which the dissenters profess beyond all others to take their principles and their practice.

"Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not the *Levite*, as long as thou livest upon the earth." (Deut. xii. 19.)

"Do ye not know that they which mini-

ster about holy things live of the things of the temple? Even so hath *the Lord ordained* that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel." (1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.)

"The labourer is worthy of his hire." (Luke x. 7.)

"I beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are *over you* in the Lord, and to *esteem them very highly in love* for their work's sake, and be at *peace* (and what contributes more to peace than *order* ?) among yourselves." (1 Thess. v. 12, 13.)

The next extract which I shall make from Mr. James, relates to the *doctrines* of dissent, in which (from the want of articles, creeds, and liturgies, which the dissenters affect to despise) both *Antinomianism* and *Socinianism* are becoming very prevalent :—"Creeping reptiles infest our churches, and perpetually insinuate that their ministers do not preach the

Gospel, because they have dared to enforce the *moral law* as the rule of a believer's *conduct*. This antinomian spirit is become the pest of *many* churches. But as the chief source of antinomianism is the *pulpit*, (for the dissenters are neither directed nor controlled by any liturgy,) cases may occur in which the majority of the people (the legislature of dissent) wish to introduce *heterodox* sentiments, (that is, heresy,) and to remain in communion for the sake of *peace*, and have trusted to their own authority to prevent the mischief from spreading. This, however, is chaining the fiend, not casting him out; and leaving him to burst his fetters when the hand that held him in vassalage is paralyzed in death; leaving him to waste and devour the church under a younger or inferior minister. In this way such *numbers* of orthodox places have fallen into the possession of those who oppose *the truth*



*as it is in Jesus* (the Socinians). (See Matt. v. 19, 20.) *Many* pulpits now devoted to the propagation of *unitarian* doctrines were once the fountain of purer principles."

What could any churchman say more effectually to condemn the *voluntary principle* than this, whether we view its doctrines, its discipline, or its precepts? or, to show the necessity of an established church, with all its bulwarks of christian truth and morals, in its articles, creeds, scripture readings, liturgy, and homilies? We have already, not only the three denominations of dissenters emphatically called orthodox, the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents, (and which of the rest do not call themselves orthodox too?) but the Quakers, Arians, Socinians, Irvingites, Southcottians, Ranters, Jumpers, Plymouth Brethren, Mormonites, &c.; and what is to prevent the multiplication of

sects to an unlimited extent, if the great national landmark, the Established Church, is removed? Will it be said, that religious truth is of no consequence? that all religions are alike—equally true or equally false (which comes very near to the principles of the party calling themselves *liberal*)? This accommodating principle would soon lead to the infidelity and atheism which occasioned the French Revolution, and which are still threatening the extinction of social order, religion, and loyalty, (for there is a natural connexion between them all,) in most of the countries of Europe. It is the duty of every statesman to investigate these things if he does not already know them. And any legislator who votes away any of the supports of the Church, when the demands upon it are so great from the rapid increase of our population, for the sake of strengthening a political party, may be

justly called a traitor to his Church and to his country,—the great interests which God has confided to his care, and for which he will be held responsible when he is called to give an account of his stewardship at the bar of eternal justice.

It is the duty of a government to protect *all* the interests of a nation, both political and religious. Religion is not so established in the hearts of men that it may be safely left to take its chance in a corrupt and selfish world. Its connexion with the State, which seems to have been designed by the Almighty, after it had proved its divine origin by the feebleness of its own instrumentality, (Isa. lxix. 53,) gives sanctity to the one and security to the other. And being appointed by the Almighty himself in the *only* religion ever given by Him to man, (for Christianity is but the development and consummation of Judaism,) it is presumptuous,

and almost blasphemous, to deny its lawfulness.

This denial suits the convenience of a party, and is used as an argument by those whose course is resolved on, whether with or without it. And this is the origin of many assumed political principles, such as the equality of mankind and the sovereignty of the people, both of which are contradictory to nature, truth, and Scripture. It is the wantonness of *liberty* which demands this disconnexion, and which, if full scope were given to it, would reduce society to a state of moral chaos, resembling that natural one from which the Almighty redeemed the world by giving to it a physical organization. And that political party which encourages such principles for the sake of political power degrades itself in the scale of moral dignity, contravenes the apparent purposes of the Almighty in the structure of

human society, and is answerable for all those political convulsions which disorganise the moral system of the world.

It shows great ignorance of the human character to suppose that unreasonable men can ever be satisfied. They take every concession as an instalment, which only strengthens their position for future demands. This was the case with the great Irish agitator on behalf of the Catholics, as he himself acknowledged : and the dissenters are acting on the same principle in this country. They first required only toleration, and that with the air of petitioners. They now demand, with a much bolder front, equality with the national Church, which they denominate a *sect*, like their own. They have not only a "Society for the Protection of Civil and Religious Liberty," of which they already possess as much as is consistent with the safety of the Church and nation, (and un-

less our legislators are firm, perhaps a little more,) but an "Anti-Church-Rate Society," and I believe others equally hostile to the national Church, with which they declare that the battle *must* sooner or later be fought. As it is impossible for any person who is accustomed to see the hand of Providence in the history and the destiny of nations, (and our Saviour expressly commands us to observe the signs of the times,) to doubt that this Church and nation are instruments in His hands for carrying out the scheme of the world's redemption,—evidenced as it seems to be by the unprecedented extention of our empire, and our establishment of colonial bishoprics in almost every direction,—it is rather bold to wrest from the hands of the Almighty what appears to be the chief instrument of His great work of mercy since the Saviour's advent, as the Jewish Church and nation were before it. There

is no limit to the demands of men who reject the discipline which is necessary to social peace and harmony, and are perpetually craving for that liberty which is incompatible with the condition of our fallen nature.

If the instance of America is alleged in refutation of the foregoing remarks, I must observe (as I believe I have done before) that notwithstanding it has produced some pious and learned men, the people at large are far from being religious, for the want of a parochial system. And the entire liberty at which they are left in this respect occasions a religious apathy, which is the secret of their apparent harmony. People will not quarrel about things to which they are indifferent; and their tranquillity arises more from feebleness than from the firm pulsations of a healthy temperament. The experiment of America is not sufficiently matured to be

drawn into precedent, either as to its political or religious tendencies. Its history and condition are altogether anomalous and *sui generis*. And it is safer to trust to the known and tried principles of past experience, with the word of God and the history of man for our guide, than to speculate in the lottery of untried theories, to satisfy the cravings of a licentious appetite.

The state of religion in France, where no preference is shown by the government to any form of it, is very low, and infidelity and practical atheism is the condition of a large portion of the people. These, in conjunction with universal suffrage, have so disorganised the moral structure of society, that no government can maintain itself there without violating the acknowledged principles of the constitution. Where there is an equality of political rights and social privileges the mind



is not trained to modesty and respect for others, which are the great elements of peace and social order, and constitute in a high degree, as we have reason to believe from the moral precepts of the gospel, the grace, beauty, and loveliness of the society of heaven. Our Saviour came down from heaven to teach us this, as an accessory to his own great atonement; and those who reject the moral corollary will probably find that they have no part in the principle from which it springs. And let it not be thought that this is only applicable to the lower orders, as a lesson of obedience to them: it applies also to the higher ones, particularly to those who encourage insubordination, by endeavouring to raise the uneducated classes above the place and functions which Providence has designed for them. Though it is the duty of all to be kind, courteous, and beneficent to those below them, it is also a duty to

preserve the proportions of society, and not to disorganise the social fabric by giving to any part of it an undue preponderance. Legislation is the highest function of the human intellect, and belongs, in the purposes of nature, to the educated and the intelligent, who possess at the same time such a measure of independence as may afford some guarantee for integrity in the exercise of their exalted functions ;—subject, nevertheless, to some salutary control from the governed, but not to their actual dictation. They are no friends to the peace and happiness of society who overlook this design of Providence, and would destroy the symmetry of the social fabric, to indulge their own theories or promote their own advancement. They generally possess but little delicacy of moral sentiment, and little refinement of outward manners ; and they do very little honour to their christian profession by the

manner in which they exemplify it in their own deportment.

Subordination is good for man : and it is healthful to our moral constitution to have superiors to deal with as well as equals and inferiors. It gives a fuller development to the character, and elicits graces and virtues for which a state of equality affords no scope. It lowers the pride of self-conceit, and makes the soul sweet and lovely ; foremost to acknowledge the arrangements of Infinite Wisdom, and to cast its crown to the ground, saying, " Halleluiah, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth !"

Republics are seldom generous. Self is too much the basis both of the national and individual character, to have much to spare for others. Having no superiors to look up to, each man is his own hero. He is ready to hurl defiance at every one that offends him, and his manners are

coarse, vulgar, and offensive. "Pitiful" he may be, (for what I know,) but he is certainly not "courteous." Instead of rendering "fear \* to whom fear is due, and honour to whom honour," he fears no body, and honours none but himself. The precepts of Scripture, "let every soul be subject to the higher powers," "honour all men," "all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility," "except ye become as little children ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven," and many others, are virtually repudiated by him; and how he reconciles the rejection of them to his christian profession, we must leave it to himself to determine. In such a state the mind undergoes no salutary discipline from the form and structure of society, nor is trained in any of those preparatives for heaven which consist in the exercise of the more deli-

\* Reverence.

cate christian graces. No doubt there are many individual exceptions to this, particularly among the educated classes. The manners of good society are nearly the same in all civilised countries. However the conventional usages may differ, the courtesy which suggests them is a general acknowledgment of the principles of benevolence and sympathy. Education assimilates man to man, and creates a sort of moral affinity between them: but the educated classes form but a small part of the community; and even the half educated in a republic are unlike those of other countries. Their democratical coarseness is continually bursting forth, and their best manners are but a modified selfishness. If the ancient republics have produced many splendid monuments of art, their moral constitution was by no means enviable. They were always remarkable for jealousy and ingratitude to

their best benefactors;—men who had fought their battles, repulsed the enemy from their gates, changed their defensive into offensive warfare, and placed them on a pinnacle of glory. Even Athens, the cradle of the arts and the domicile of everything that is graceful and elegant in outward appearance, could not endure the virtue of Socrates. And Plato, who seems by a sort of prophetic intuition to have foreseen the Saviour, though only in the character of a great reformer, said that when he came, the world would not endure the purity of his doctrines, and that they would persecute him, and put him to death, as they did Socrates.

If America has not shown the same jealousy of her benefactors that other republics have done, it is because she has no powerful neighbours who can bring formidable armies against her, and oblige her to keep up standing armies of her

own, and to entrust in the hands of individuals a power which may excite her jealousy. If that state of things ever occurs, (which sooner or later it probably will do,) either by a separation of the states, or by the increased power and intelligence of neighbouring nations, she will probably show the same jealousy of her commanders that other republics have done.

If the republics of Switzerland have not shown this jealousy, it is (I believe) because the integrity of each canton is guaranteed by the great powers of Europe. At any rate, they are aware that any great collision among them would probably draw on a general war, and be merged in the contentions of the greater powers. Though the Roman republic has also produced many splendid monuments of art, it seems rather to have arisen from the aristocratic accumulations of wealth derived from the plunder of other nations, than from

any delicacy of sentiment or refinement in their own moral constitution. Their virtues, such as they were, were confined entirely to their own country; and they thought everything fair with respect to those whom they were pleased to call their enemies; which were, all who had the audacity to assert their own independence. Though it pleased the Almighty, for wise purposes, to suffer these robbers of mankind to obtain the mastery of the civilized world, their virtues were still circumscribed by geographical limits, and had little affinity to that universal charity, which is so marked a feature of the Christian character. Yet, even here, the finger of God is discernible, and this unhallowed aggrandisement of the Roman empire has been made an instrument, in the hands of Providence, for accomplishing the great scheme of our Redemption. The punishment of crucifixion, which was inflicted



upon our blessed Saviour, and was the accomplishment of many prophecies relating to Him, was introduced into Judæa by the Romans, long after any of those prophecies were delivered; and had their conquests not extended to that country the prophecy could not have been accomplished. The tissue of providential dispensations is too intricate and mysterious for the sagacity of man to unravel; and when the Almighty himself unravels it, we can only see, wonder, and adore.

A large, uncompromising republic is like a great parish workhouse, or a wall stuck with windows, having neither features, parts, nor symmetry. But a nation whose political and social organization comprises a great variety of "orders and degrees," linked together in harmonious subordination, is like a stately edifice, with its wings, its centre, its columns, and its cornices; exhibiting in its combination

both strength and beauty. A nation thus organized, is like a palace in a world of cottages. Even the servants, well ordered and well attired, display the fulness of the system; and where each performs his part adequately, all is harmony, peace, and social beauty.

The political convulsions of the world generally arise from rejecting or neglecting the principles of the Bible. God has given us a world to live in, and a law to guide us in our passage through it. Let us not accept the dwelling and reject the ordinance, lest we soar on the wings of Dædalus, and fall into perdition. If a heathen critic could say, “*Vos exemplaria Græca—Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ;*” — if a celebrated critic of our own could say, that any person who wishes to acquire a chaste, correct, and flowing style, must give his *days* and *nights* to the pages of Addison; if an inspired pro-

phet, himself a type of the Saviour, could say, that “ the delight of a good man is in the law of the Lord, and in his law will he exercise himself *day* and *night* ;” shall not the Christian monitor say, to all who would be Israelites indeed—

“ Vos exemplaria *sacra*

Nocturnâ servaste manu, versate diurnâ ?”

Why is the sacred volume so little read, even by those who would almost consider themselves heathens if they did not possess it? In reading that we read *with* God, *from* God, and *to* God. We walk with Him, as it were, hand in hand, and converse with Him as a man converses with his friend. We dwell, as it were, with the Master of the house, watching his countenance, listening to his discourses, and receiving his commands and gentle counsels. Religion taken at second-hand is not to be named with this. It is like moonlight compared with the noon-day sun, or

a lunar rainbow to the great emblem of mercy. The Bible is the food and marrow of the soul, given to us by the Almighty for the soul to feed upon, as the natural food is for the body's aliment. It is the soul's cynosure. It affords it a solution for every doubt, a balm for every wound, a shield for every encounter, and a kiss of peace for all who seek its charity. It guides us safely through the howling wilderness, and places us in a garden of celestial fragrance.

“ How charming is divine philosophy !  
 Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,  
 But musical as is Apollo's lute ;  
 And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,  
 Where no crude surfeit reigns.”

Forgive me, Wilberforce, for this pirated quotation ; it is so sweet, I cannot forbear to rob you of it ; but I hope that you are enjoying its rich realities, whilst we are grovelling among its earthly emblems.

In speaking of the rainbow I omitted to notice a most remarkable feature in it, which displays the goodness of the Almighty, beyond any symbol which the earth presents to us. It is well known to all who are acquainted with optics, that no two individuals see the same rainbow. The drops which compose the rainbow of one are different from those which form the rainbow of another: and whilst the bow appears at an immeasurable distance, the drops which compose it are generally near to us. I myself have had ocular demonstration of this; when in viewing as fine a rainbow as I ever beheld, appearing to span the whole arch of heaven, I actually saw through it a hedge not many yards before me. The emblem of mercy is held out separately to each of us; and at the same time that the bow, appearing to span the whole horizon, holds out a general invitation to us all, a separate invita-

tion is sent to each of us, sealed with the seal of the Almighty. And the ring which adorns the finger and the throne of God (Rev. vi. 3) is presented separately, at the marriage-feast, to every spouse of Christ; to all who come to it in the wedding garment, rainbowed with repentance, faith, and holiness. Could the imagination of man have conceived such a thing, even if it had been employed on nothing else from the days of Adam until now? This glorious phenomenon not only amalgamates the opposite and adverse principles of the sublime and beautiful,\* but the great and the little in the same object, and at the same moment. This is as clearly divine,—not only in its execution, but in its very conception, as the heaven to which it invites us to aspire. “Oh, the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the goodness of God! How unsearchable are his

\* See Burke's elegant essay on this subject.

judgments, and his ways past finding out!" "Blessing, and glory, and honour, and power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever!" And may not the Almighty say to us, if, after having received from Him such astonishing loving-kindness and mercy, we "neglect this great salvation," "I have nourished and brought up children, but they have rebelled against me; why will ye die, O house of Israel?" "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things that belong unto thy peace!"

But long as my digression has been from the original purport of this letter, which was the only one in my contemplation when I began it, I cannot return to it without saying a word or two on a subject which appears to claim our attention on grounds peculiarly its own, and in my humble opinion of immeasurable impor-

tance: I mean the subject of infant schools. This early system of instruction and discipline possesses a superiority over every other method of public instruction, inasmuch as it addresses itself at its very commencement to the seat of all moral evil, as well as all moral good, the heart and the affections. Our Saviour says, "Out of the *heart* proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies," and in fact all moral evil; and Solomon declares that out of *it* are the issues of life." Any system therefore that corrects the heart, and develops its generous and benevolent affections before selfishness has fostered and let loose the opposite ones, does more to train the soul for heaven, and make it a partaker of the divine nature, than any instruction addressed to the understanding alone can ever accomplish. It is an unavoidable defect in all other schools, where



the children are divided into classes, that the instruction addresses itself almost exclusively to the understanding, and never reaches the heart, except instrumentally through that: and however good the instruction may be, it often never reaches the heart at all. The affections are altogether passive in the reception of it; and in consequence of this the character is often very little improved by the best instruction that can be given to it. And though the lessons are often said to be learnt by *heart*, they are in fact only learnt by the understanding, and frequently never reach the heart at all. The principle of fear also, and not of love, is chiefly brought into operation by the discipline of the school, and the generous affections are nipped in the bud by those of a nature altogether opposite. But in the infant school the discipline addresses itself principally to the heart. The children learn

from sympathy, and not from fear; and that which is irksome and painful in other schools is in this an exercise of pleasurable and generous emulation. The simultaneous movements and unconstrained responses create a sympathy and emulation of love; and the benevolent affections are nearly as much exercised in the discipline of the school as they would be by the amusements of a playground.

There are two antagonistic principles in the human heart, which are the elements of the Divine and the Satanic nature within us. These are love and selfishness. The former of these, as far as it extends, is the kingdom of God in the heart of man, the latter the kingdom of Satan. And as it would be easy to show that selfishness, or self-love, is the source of every sin that man commits, and of every vice that man is prone to, so it would be equally easy to show, if we had time, that all virtue springs

from love, if that word is taken in its broadest sense. It is the unhappy consequence of the fall that Satan gets possession of us first. His conquest over our first parents did not end with them, but extends itself to all their progeny. The feeble state in which we are born into the world makes us all selfish from our birth. Everything that an infant cries for is either some gratification that it wants, or some privation that it feels. And this is always met by giving it the thing it cries for : so that selfishness is fostered and encouraged by the discipline of our earliest days and months, if it does not even extend to years, almost by a necessity of nature. And this system of indulgence is kept up, and our natural selfishness cherished, till the moral faculties begin to develop themselves, and the discipline of restraint can be safely administered. So that the kingdom of Satan, instead of be-

ing subdued, is cherished in the heart by our earliest discipline, and Satan has gained a great advantage over us before the moral education is begun.

It is the great object of good education to reverse this order, and to exterminate the kingdom of Satan in the heart by establishing in the place of it the kingdom of God ; that is, to extinguish selfishness, and to substitute for it the principle of love. The Scripture declares, not that God is lovely, but that He is Love itself,—essential, unalloyed, and uncreated Love. (1 John iv. 8.) The whole universe (as I have before observed) is only the development of the principle of love in the varied forms of existence ; and would have continued so, had not rebellion introduced into it a principle of antagonism. All the love that exists in a created being is a portion of the Divine essence,—the outpouring of essential Deity into the heart of the creature ; and he that possesses most of it has the

greatest portion of the Divinity within him ; stands nearest to the throne of God, and enjoys the largest measure of the Divine similitude. A distinguished statesman is recorded to have said to his sovereign that there were three things necessary to successful warfare : the first was money, the second money, and the third money. So there are three things necessary to moral perfection : the first is love, the second love, and the third love. The attainment of this love should be the beginning, the middle, and the end of all our endeavours. But love itself, when unalloyed by selfishness, has no end. "Charity never faileth." And a celebrated poet of our own came much nearer to the sense and language of Scripture than he was probably aware of, when he said in mere poetical parlance,—

" Love rules the court, the camp, the grove,  
And men below, and saints above,  
For love is heaven, and heaven is love."

As I took the liberty, in a former part of this letter, to express a hope that the inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood will make every possible exertion to erect the new church which is so much wanted and has been so long contemplated, I trust I may be permitted to add to it the, hope (which I have no doubt is altogether unnecessary,) that they will establish in connection with it an infant school. It will do more benefit to the rising generation than any other they can confer by the same expenditure, particularly if it is followed up by those excellent institutions the Sunday and National Schools. And how can the females of our favoured land, or the piously disposed of the other sex, exert themselves more profitably for their country's good, or for the honour of Him who is our "All in all," than by devoting a portion of their sabbath hours to training the infant candi-

dates for heaven in the salutary discipline of our Sunday schools, as many in London are now doing? Such charity as this is doubly blest. "It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes:" and the unction that we pour into the hearts of others increases the store in our own cruse. The names of Wilderspin, and Bell, and Raikes, and Trimmer, will shine conspicuously in the christian annals, as long as the love of God can warm the heart, or the command of Christ to "feed His lambs" can rouse the energies of a christian nation. Let all who have the means enrol themselves in the same list of honoured labourers, that they "being dead, may yet speak." And surely it will be no disparagement at the last great day to those who have had the courage to step out of the beaten path of ease and luxury to devote themselves to so honourable a service, to bring with them their little band of captives rescued by their labours from

the grasp of Satan, and present their trophies at the feet of Mercy, saying, "Behold, I and the children which the Lord hath given me." (Isaiah viii. 18; Heb. ii. 13.)

If the scheme of our Redemption should seem small to any one, comparing it with the dimensions of the power that produced it, let him consider that He who came and tabernacled in this atom of infinity, to rescue from destruction its lost inhabitants; who was born in an out-house in the depth of winter, and cradled in a manger because his parents could not procure a bed for him; who was circumcised like other children, and baptized like other probationers; who suffered hunger, and thirst, and cold in a desert, without tasting food for near the eighth part of a year together, and then, with a hunger almost insupportable, was tempted by Satan with an apposite temptation in nature's hard necessity;



who walked from place to place without a home, and never rode but once, and then upon an ass ; who washed the feet of his companions, (an office so low that few masters will let a servant do it for them,) and was betrayed by one of them, and deserted by all the rest, the same night ; who was mocked, and scourged, and spit upon, (an insult which the vilest of men will not endure,) and then, with the blood streaming down his forehead, and the spittle down his cheeks and garments, was compelled to carry the instrument of his own execution ; nailed to a board, and left to die, with the addition of taunts and insults to aggravate his sufferings ; and (last and worst of all) who suffered the anguish of one who felt himself forsaken by His heavenly Father, (and what further horrors He may have endured I dare not conjecture) ;—that this person was the Creator and Sovereign of the universe, who could

crush the world with a thought, or double it in an instant ; and that He possessed in the plenitude of omnipotence from all eternity, holiness, happiness, power, and goodness, before a single star which glitters in the firmament, even beyond the scope of human vision, received its existence. If thoughts like these cannot awaken in us feelings of gratitude and love, (by which I do not mean the physical impression, as that is in a great measure constitutional, and dependent upon natural causes,) what other place can we be fit for throughout eternity but that from which gratitude, hope, and love are for ever excluded ; and where (oh, dreadful thought !) even the flames of hell cannot soften the heart, but make it harder still ? Yet, blessed be God, there is no cause for despondency in any “who thirst, and come unto the waters.” The hand of reconciliation is held out still ; the rainbow glitters in the

heavens still; the finger of God is encircled with the ring of mercy still: and the Bride says, "come;" and the Spirit says, "come," and the angelic hosts say, "come," even without money and without price—and all may yet be well!

I have heard it objected by an infidel that God might pardon us without demanding any satisfaction at all, and without any such contrivance as that involved in the scheme of our redemption: and I have no doubt that the same sentiment resides in the heart, if not on the lips, of every other infidel. But as the attributes of God are all equal and infinite, none of them can ever suffer diminution, nor can any of them ever be exercised at the expense of another. If that were done, the equilibrium of the Divine perfections would be destroyed, and God would not be God. If the universe is to be sustained, and God is to continue to be God,

and man is still to be preserved from eternal misery, "Mercy and Truth (that is justice) *must* meet together; righteousness and peace *must* kiss each other." The language of justice is, "Pay me that thou owest:" it knows no other. And how could this be done, if man is to be spared, unless the Almighty himself should pay the debt, and (oh, inconceivable thought!) should satisfy by His own sufferings, His own eternal justice? No created being is sufficient for it. There is but one alternative; either the excision of the offending race, as a gangrene in the moral universe, or the sufferings of the High and Holy One who inhabiteth eternity, in vindication of His own prerogative. Infinite justice can accept no less at the hands of infinite mercy. "It must *needs be* that Christ should suffer." (Acts xvii. 3.) By no other means *could* mercy and truth meet together, or righteousness and peace kiss each other.

I have wound up this argument in the manner I have done, (although, as I am addressing many who are clergymen, I fear it may appear a little presumptuous,) because I have long felt that a work is still wanting in our language on that highest of all attainments, the love of God, which would never have been the first commandment if it was not the highest perfection. If love implies resemblance, which I think it does, (for there must be something in common to produce sympathy,) the love of God, being the resemblance of God ; must clearly be the highest perfection of a created being. It is that "image of God" which our first parents lost in paradise, but which we hope to regain through the glorious scheme of Redemption ; and whatever impresses it on the heart of man must be a blessing to mankind. The celebrated work on the subject by John Howe, whom the late Robert Hall spoke of as one of

the ablest of our theological writers, has always appeared to me so dry, and based upon such low principles, that I could never read it through. I have heard that the character of the work improves in this respect as it proceeds. I hope that those who have read it through have found it so. But it appears to me to be so exclusively addressed to the understanding, that it can never adequately affect the heart. There is another work on the same subject, which I have not read, entitled, "Boyle on Seraphic Love." Judging from the title alone, I should presume that this is too much in the other extreme, and addressed too exclusively to the affections. It has therefore occurred to me that something between the two, addressing the whole man, and affecting equally the heart and the understanding, is still wanting, and would be highly beneficial if undertaken by an able hand. In consequence of this,

my late excellent friend Mrs. Wilson, (formerly Miss Caroline Fry,) the author of "Christ our Example," and many other valuable works, has, on my suggestion and at my express request, written a very able and interesting work on the subject, embracing those views, and entitled, "The Great Commandment." Though she lived to finish the work, she did not live to witness its publication ; but was called to her eternal rest in the full vigour of her faculties, which were preserved to her in a most remarkable manner almost to the last moment, before its publication was accomplished ; as if the Almighty had said to her, "It is enough : you have finished the work which I have given you to do." As far as my poor judgment goes, it is a work of great talent, beauty, and genius. The richness and copiousness of her imagination, the amazing rapidity of her thoughts, the strength and fervour of her grasp, and

the powerful command of language which her work exhibits, give to it a character of luxuriance which will amply compensate for any little obscurity which may here or there occur. But even these excellences have had their drawback ; as they have sometimes led her to be so profuse and copious in her details (particularly at the commencement) as a little to encumber the connected argument. I was glad to find that in the progress of the work she is less exuberant, though at all times flowing and copious ; and I have heard from those who have read it through, (for I have hitherto been prevented by particular circumstances from doing it myself, though I anticipate a return to it with great pleasure and profit,) that the high character of the work is sustained quite to the end. It is a work of great piety, and her own soul seems to go along with every sentiment it contains. No person could plead a cause



on which his own happiness, or even his life depended, with more warmth, energy, and zeal than she has displayed in pleading the cause of the Almighty, and in "vindicating the ways of God to man." Although it wants in its details a little of that methodical clearness which an education like that of the opposite sex would probably have given to it, it is like a field abounding in the richest fruits and flowers, without the trimmings and prunings of the gardener's art,—a field in which we may walk without meeting a boundary, and not be tired; like Baxter's "Saints' Everlasting Rest," or Chalmers's eloquent discourses from the pulpit. I owe it to her honoured memory to say that I am myself in a great measure answerable for the defect which I have pointed out; as in the last letter which I wrote to her on the subject I said, "I shall never enquire whether you are writing this work or not,

as I know how much it cramps the imagination to have any particular work expected of it." This might lead her to determine that it should not do so, and to give the rein to her imagination (which always required the curb rather than the spur) more freely than she would otherwise have done. Her angelic soul is gone to a place where it will be fully appreciated, and where thousands of kindred spirits will welcome her arrival, and join her in hymning halleluiahs to Eternal Love.

But (to return to brick and mortar, which are the proper subject of our present enquiries) if our mediæval predilections still remain ; if we must grovel in the rubbish of antiquity ;—displacing perhaps for the purpose "as sweet a sod as mortal feet have ever trod," bearing perhaps on its bosom the modest primrose, the lily which the robe of Solomon could not rival, or the violet, wearing in its meek attire the

softest hue of mercy's emblem ;—let us take a lesson from the watery pilferer, who drags from its slimy bed only that which is really valuable, leaving the rest to perish in the womb that bears it. And let us not imitate the wandering Israelite, who huddles all the collections of the day together in one bag without assortment, preference, or discrimination. Alas ! he does not "sit down and weep when he remembers Zion;" but plies his ragged trade, bearing the stamp of God's displeasure, and being a bye-word still in the lands that cherish him. Oh, let us follow out these holler contemplations ! and as we are subject both to moral and to physical influences, if outward things are (as some believe) the types and emblems of spiritual existences, let the temples dedicated to the honour of the Almighty be as like to himself as we can make them. And let us sustain the dignity of our sacred archi-

ture, and the purity of its spiritual associations, by reducing it, as I have said, to its proper constituent elements, the principles of sublimity and beauty:—lest, whilst we are raking in the dust-heaps of superstition, and scraping together the chips of barbarism, the astounding reality should burst upon us—

“ Great God ! what do I see and hear !  
 The end of things created !  
 The Judge of mankind doth appear  
 On clouds of glory seated !  
 The trumpet sound, the graves restore  
 The dead, which they contained before ;—  
 Prepare, my soul, to meet Him.”

[REDACTED]

NOTES.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

## NOTES.

## NOTE I.

ALTHOUGH I am not much acquainted with the subject of architecture, I cannot forbear to make a few remarks upon the far-famed chapel of King's College at Cambridge. It appears to me that its exterior, when viewed at right angles, exhibits as perfect a specimen of the sublime and beautiful as the simple form of a chapel can well admit of. But when viewed obliquely, the massy buttresses which are necessary to support the roof appear too plain and ponderous to harmonize with the other parts of the building. Had the security of the edifice admitted of it, if those buttresses had been open, and properly decorated, and perhaps of rather smaller dimensions, the exterior would have been sublime and beautiful viewed under any aspect. The interior



is evidently defective in beauty. The painted windows and the sculptured roof are (as far as I recollect) the only parts that give any character of beauty to the building at all. It wants that graceful division into parts; those avenues of arches and clustered pillars, which give so much beauty to our grand cathedrals; and those transepts, which relieve the monotony of the length, and give lightness and elegance to the massy structure. Owing to the great height of the building, when we raise our eyes from the floor to the ceiling, it is difficult to believe the walls to be perpendicular. Though the proportions are, no doubt, correct, it exceeds the compass of the eye's capacity to give them a due appreciation. We must have an eye made for the purpose, as we must a heart, to contemplate with just emotion the great Being whose majesty it represents. The carnal eye cannot behold Him, the sensual heart cannot adore Him. Before we can view Him as we ought, the Spirit itself must "purge the visual ray, and on the sightless eye-ball pour the day."—But had the building contained those arches and those transepts, it would have been a church, and not a chapel. The defect is probably not attributable to the designer, but inseparable from the design itself.

Though no work of man can be sublime in its di-

mensions, it may in its proportions ; and a model small enough to stand upon a table, or even upon a mantelpiece, may exhibit as perfect a specimen of the sublime and beautiful as the edifice which it is designed to typify. We have therefore a right to expect that in our future churches the sacred character shall be sustained, and the principles of the sublime and beautiful adhered to, though they must often be interrupted for the purposes of convenience and accommodation. These, after all, are the principal objects, and must not be sacrificed to mere appearance. "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands : " the true temple of God is the heart of the worshipper.

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#### NOTE II.

It might, perhaps, be desirable that every society like the present should have a committee of taste, who should conduct their operations, and exercise their judgment, not on the principles of antiquarian prescription, but on the free, unalterable, eternal principles of the sublime and beautiful ; taking advantage, of course, of the best models which ancient and modern art have supplied, but exercising a free judg-

ment upon all, and submitting to the dictation of none of them. I cannot see why, in this enlightened age, with facilities for acquiring knowledge beyond those of any other age or country, we should prostrate our understandings at the feet of an equivocal age; an age of questionable piety, but undoubted barbarism. Surely the acknowledgment of such a necessity would be like glorying in our shame, and charging the Almighty with injustice; as if He had robbed us of a portion of our privileges to increase the endowments of former ages. Let us discard this pusillanimity, and assert the freedom and independence of our own minds; at least in matters of taste and judgment, however the inventions of former ages may have limited the field of novelty and genius. And let us not suffer either our judgment or our genius to be controlled by synchronisms or anachronisms, which are merely extraneous and accidental, and have no relation to the great principles of the sublime and beautiful, which ought chiefly to characterise our sacred architecture. Let us throw off this tyranny of chronological correctness, and assert the independence of higher principles.

It is not probable that any new cathedrals (or if any, very few) will ever be erected in ancient Christendom. The circumstances which gave rise to the

erection of the present ones have ceased to exist, and are never likely to return. Had the men who erected them lived in our time, they could not have accomplished the undertaking. The circumstances which enabled them have passed away : the patent of the Almighty has expired.

If we may venture to conjecture why the Almighty ordained that these splendid monuments should be the productions of a benighted, rather than an enlightened age, it might possibly be to keep up a sense of religion by outward and visible objects, when literature was not sufficiently advanced to give to it expansion and detail. These edifices supplied the place of the press and the steam-engine, which have now brought religion home to every man's private chamber. These monuments will, of course, remain for the period assigned to them by the Almighty ; which is probably till the end of the world (an event perhaps not so distant as some imagine). They must perish, splendid as they are, and leave no successors to supply their places. But (thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory, through Jesus Christ our Lord) every true Christian may say to his soul,

“ The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples, the great globe itself ;

Yea all that it inhabit shall dissolve,  
And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,  
Leave not a wreck behind.  
But thou shalt flourish in immortal youth,  
Unhurt amidst the war of elements,  
The wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds."

THE END.

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